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April/May 1987
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APRIL/MAY 1987

8

The British Light Division at the Alma, 1854

MICHAEL BARTHORP
Paintings by PIERRE TURNER

17

The Face of Medieval Warfare

CHRISTOPHER GRAVETT

22

Tigerstripe Camouflage of the Vietnam War (1)

LEE E. RUSSELL
Painting by RONALD B. VOLSTAD

29

British Mercenaries in the Baltic, 1560-1683 (2)

RICHARD BRZEZINSKI
Paintings by RICHARD HOOK

37

Interpreting Napoleonic Prints

PHILIP J. HAYTHORNTHWAITE

50

Gallery: Sir Richard Gale, 1918 & 1945

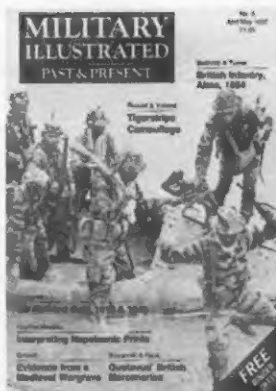
MICHAEL CHAPPELL

Editorial	4	The Auction Scene	6
Classifieds	4	Letters	6
On the Screen	4	Reviews	44

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Our cover illustration shows CIDG troops in Vietnam's Mekong Delta in July 1967, see Lee Russell's Tigerstripe article on p. 22. (US Army photo)

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Christopher Gravett

Lee Russell



Gerry Embleton



Christopher Gravett makes his first contribution to 'MI' with a fascinating explanation of the Wisby war-grave finds. Born in 1951, Chris completed a London master's degree in medieval studies; he now works on the staff of a national museum, and has published a number of articles on his period in popular magazines. He has also published a *Men-at-Arms* title, and is working on a further project for Osprey.

Lee E. Russell, author of several books and articles on modern American subjects, maintains his usual meticulous standards in his piece on Tigerstripe camouflage — a subject which has long baffled collectors, who should bless Lee's name. Born in 1947, Lee served in Vietnam during his hitch with the US Army, 1966-68. A New York communications technician, he is also a costume consultant for stage and screen,

and works part-time on a museum-ship.

Our third 'mug-shot' is a preview: a hint at the quality of the re-creations modelled with exact replica 15th-century dress, armour and weapons by **Gerry Embleton** and his collaborators for our forthcoming series on footsoldiers of that period. Having seen some of the photos of this group, posed on castle walls and in snowy forests in Switzerland, we can promise something quite out of the ordinary.

Parisian chic

We are delighted to be able to offer readers (see inside cover) a subscription service to two excellent magazines produced by *Histoire & Collections* of Paris under the editorial directorship of our old friend and respected colleague **François Vauvillier**. We heartily recommend

them as sources of truly superb full-colour pictorial reference, even if your French is shaky (though see our free word-list offer, too!) For instance, the March edition of *Militaria* (No. 18) includes major articles on French troops in Norway, 1940; German officers' uniforms, 1935-45; and re-enactors beautifully posed as French and British troops of 1914. The March *Tradition* (No. 3) covers such diverse subjects as French infantry, 1710-20; the 1766 musket in US service; and slang of the *Grande Armée*!

A particular strength of both journals is the attractive marriage of uniform and weapon reference, thanks to the liberal French gun laws. *Tradition* (and how pleasant to see the name revived, albeit in a French accent) is also strong on modelling subjects; and *Militaria* often includes military vehicle features. **[M]**

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ON THE SCREEN

Video releases:

- 'War and Peace' (CIC Video: U)
- 'Revolution' (Warner Home Video: 15)
- 'King David' (CIC Video: PG)

The recent crop of films released on video include three of interest to the military enthusiast. King Vidor's *War and Peace* (1956) was the first significant attempt to film Tolstoy's famous novel about four aristocratic Russian families during the Napoleonic Wars. Despite a running time of 3½ hours, the film could not possibly be anything more than a synopsis. The bare bones of the story are there, but not fleshed out with any depth of characterisation. Henry Fonda gave a sincere performance in the central rôle of Pierre, but the script never allowed him to convey that character's spiritual odyssey, so integral to the novel.

Whatever its shortcomings, the film succeeds admirably on a visual level, ravishing the eye with a glittering ballroom scene, a hunt shot from the air, and the inevitable *troika* ride over the snow. The battle of Austerlitz is long enough to show only the wounding of Andrei (Mel Ferrer); and the Borodino sequence, although spectacular by Hollywood standards, fails to convey the real horror of the slaughter. The retreat

from Moscow is more impressive, however. Napoleon's troops leave the city in orderly columns which gradually disintegrate as the chill autumn winds turn to rain and then to blinding blizzard, and the roads are churned into mud before disappearing under snow. The crossing of the Berezina is particularly well handled, with Russian artillery destroying the pontoon bridge over which thousands of troops are crossing, sending many to an icy death in the river. Herbert Lom gave a reprise of his rôle in *Young Mr. Pitt* by playing Napoleon, while Oskar Homolka took the part of the wily old General Kutuzov.

The military details of Hugh Hudson's *Revolution* (1985) were well covered in John Mollo's excellent article in 'MI' No. 3. This film was savagely and irresponsibly mauled by the critics, who failed to appreciate that it was never conceived as a romantic melodrama in the manner of *Gone With The Wind*; likewise the fur trapper (Al Pacino) was never intended to be a hero in the conventional mould. Instead we have a man caught up in tumultuous events, the significance of which he could not possibly understand, and through

continued on p. 6



Richard Gere as 'King David', in a scene of hand-to-hand combat.

IN OUR NEXT ISSUE:

Clive Bartlett & Gerry Embleton describe and illustrate 15th-century footsoldiers' livery . . . Brian Leigh Davis completes his study of U-Boat Uniforms . . . Lee Russell continues his survey of Tigerstripe Camouflage . . . Philip Haythornthwaite & Bryan Fosten show what happened to British Officers on the veldt during the Boer War . . . Angus McBride illustrates Lasalle — 'the ultimate hussar' . . . AND MORE! AVAILABLE LATE MAY!

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Regiment, complete in its carrying tin, realised a healthy £264.

January's sale of militaria, medals, arms and armour at Wallis & Wallis' Lewes room realised a total of £67,767. Among the highlights (of a sale whose results offer a most useful guide to a wide variety of categories) was Lot 1232, an other rank's Life Guards helmet, which went for £810. A fireman's brass helmet achieved £230 (Lot 523); a First World War Württemberg officer's Pickelhaube (Lot 594) reached £450. By comparison, an other rank's helmet plate of the 2nd London Brigade Medical Corps fetched £310 (Lot 791); and Lot 737, an other rank's glengarry badge of the 2nd Volunteer Battalion, Black Watch, made £110. An officer's shoulder belt plate of the 22nd Regiment (Lot 1097) reached £310; an Edwardian officer's campaign desk (Lot 515), £300.

Among the medals, a Military General Service Medal with five Peninsular War bars, to the 91st Foot, fetched £240 (Lot 356); and a pair, Cabul 1842 and Sutlej 1845, 33rd N. Indian Regt., made £260 (Lot 358). In the arms and armour section, a Japanese sword realised £1,575 (Lot 1631); an Imperial Russian Honour Sword made £340 (Lot 1540); and Lot 1895, an English cavalry sword of c. 1750, reached £300. Lot 1851, a fine

pair of Irish flintlock travelling pistols by Rigby, achieved £820; and Lot 1912, a Colt semi-automatic pistol, made £400.

By the time this column appears we should have seen several interesting sales, announced for the near future. Glendinings' sale of orders, medals and decorations on 4 March includes a number of early Volunteer Medals: a rather neglected field of collecting. On the same day Sothebys have a sale of arms, armour and militaria, including a collection of blunderbusses, and an interesting Battle of Copenhagen presentation sword. On 18 March Christie's sale of antique arms and armour contains a number of good armours — an unusual event in these days when good armour is so very much in demand — as well as some very good quality firearms.

This 18 March sale is likely to be the last which Christie's hold at the King Street premises. In future all such sales will take place at Christie's South Kensington rooms; and they will be without the presence of Peter Hawkins, so long an active figure in the arms and armour world. He has become managing director of Christie's Monaco; but he will still be available for consultation on any matter relating to arms and armour.

Frederick Wilkinson

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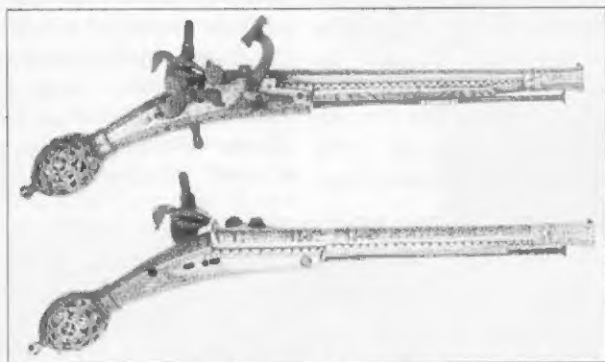
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The British Light Division at the Alma, 1854

MICHAEL BARTHORP
Paintings by PIERRE TURNER

Shortly after 3 p.m. on 20 September 1854, in brilliant sunshine, skirmishers of the 2nd Bn., Rifle Brigade waded across the River Alma in the Crimean Peninsula under heavy fire. For the past 90 minutes the Riflemen had been clearing the vineyards lining the near bank of Russian sharpshooters, while the Russian artillery thundered over their heads at Lord Raglan's 'Army of the East' as it deployed for attack and waited for its French allies to begin the assault on the far right. Now the Riflemen were covering the advance of Sir George Brown's Light Division which, with the 2nd Division on its right, was leading the British attack on the heights above the Alma in the first battle fought against European troops since Waterloo 39 years before.

Behind the Riflemen the Light Division was deployed in line two deep over the space of a mile with, from left to right, its 1st Brigade (Maj. Gen. Codrington) consisting of the 7th Royal Fusiliers, 33rd Regiment (Duke of Wellington's) and 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers; and 2nd Bde. (Maj. Gen. Buller) consisting of the 19th Regiment (1st Yorks. North Riding), 88th Regiment

(Connaught Rangers) and 77th Regiment (East Middlesex). Except for the Rifles the Division was 'Light' in name only, its title being merely a homage to the famous Peninsular War formation — though its battalions were held to be among the best-trained in the Army.

After crossing the river Buller deployed the 77th and 88th, the latter in square, to guard the open left flank against Russian cavalry. The 19th, instead of conforming as Buller intended, joined Codrington's brigade, whose line had been broken up while



negotiating the vineyards and bends of the river, and with which the left battalion of the 2nd Div. — the 95th (Derbyshire) — had become intermixed.

Recognising the difficulties and delay of reforming under fire, Codrington ordered them to 'carry on anyhow', and led them up the Kourgane Hill against the Great Redoubt, which contained 12 heavy guns and was protected and flanked by eight Russian battalion columns. On the right the 7th Fusiliers encountered two battalions of the Kazan Regi-

ment, and began a classic fire-fight of line against column. But the 19th, 23rd, 33rd and 95th, advancing in what the historian A. W. Kinglake (who was present) described as 'a knotted chain', led and flanked by the Rifles, fought their way into the Redoubt and captured it.

The Russian reserves then counter-attacked, however. Exhausted by the climb and the fury of their assault; short of ammunition, mixed together, and without support — for the 1st Div. had not yet crossed the river — and beset by conflicting orders, the five battalions were forced to give ground. Only the 7th Fusiliers remained, engaging the Kazans; and so they stood, for half an hour, until the 1st Div. came up on their left to drive the Russians from the heights, and the 55th (Westmoreland) from the 2nd Div. arrived in support on their right.

Such, in outline, was the Light Division's part at the Alma. None of its battalions had been in action before; little tactical imagination had been displayed by the higher commanders; yet, despite 25% casualties, the courage and discipline of the regimental officers and men had carried them through an opposed river crossing and into the strongest position of the Russian defences. Prior to their assault they had endured, without cover or means of retaliation, a protracted bombardment; and

Above:

Lt. Gen. Sir George Brown, commanding the Light Division, detail from a later photograph by Fenton. He wears a cocked hat, blue frock coat, blue trousers with broad red stripe, and gold-striped Russia leather sword belt. Behind him is a Rifle Brigade orderly in coatee and forage cap: cf. p.12, item B. (National Army Museum)

Right:

Topography of the Light Division's attack, drawn the day after the battle by Maj. Hamley, RA, from near to where the division waited to advance. On the rounded hill in the right middle distance is the Great Redoubt, rising to Kourgane Hill behind. At its foot is the Alma River and, between the river and the tree, the enclosures and vineyards cleared by the Rifles. The 7th Fusiliers' action took place on about the right edge of the picture; the 77th and 88th took post to watch the open flank on the spur left of the Great Redoubt. (NAM)



many, too, were suffering from the after-effects of a cholera epidemic. Furthermore, all were clothed and accoutred in a manner hardly suited for a physically strenuous attack on a blazing hot day.

UNIFORMS

Shakos

The British Line infantryman went into action in a uniform mostly unchanged for 25 years — and indeed, essentially little different from that worn against the French 40 years before. Its most recent item, the shako, dated from ten years before. Made of black felt, with a lacquered leather top, front and rear peaks, and band with rear buckle for adjusting the fit, it stood 6½ in. high, and was a ¼-in. less in diameter at the top than the bottom. It had a 4½-in. high brass plate in front; a worsted ball tuft 2½ in. in diameter; and brass rose ornaments at the sides to secure the leather chinstrap. The different plates of Fusiliers and Foot, and the varying ball tufts, are illustrated on page 13.

Coatees

Although colonial campaigns of the previous decade had witnessed some relaxation in the soldier's fighting costume, war with a European power demanded nothing less than full dress. Apart from the shako, this required all ranks to wear their coatees. This garment ended at the waist in front but had tails behind, each between 6½ and 7½ in. wide at the top, tapering to 5 in. at the bottom, and between 14½ and 16 in. long (for men of between 5 ft. 7 in. and 6 ft. tall). The open collar was 2½ in. deep in front, rising to 3 in. behind. To ease their necks many men turned their collars down.

The coatees of rank and file were of red cloth, described as 'little better than a coarse flannel', and were single-breasted. They fastened down the front with ten pewter regimental buttons, spaced singly or in pairs; on either side of each button were stitched 'loops' of white



Capt. Bell, 23rd Fusiliers, capturing a Russian gun at the Great Redoubt: he was later awarded the Victoria Cross. His pistol, with which he threatened the Russian driver, is in his left hand; his sword is attached to his right wrist by its knot. He wears a pack like his men's, a water bottle over the right shoulder, and a haversack over the left. Note the gilt wings and cuff slash. Sgt. O'Connor also won the VC in this action; wounded, he retrieved the Queen's Colour from the fallen Ensign Anstruther and carried it into the Redoubt. (Detail from painting by Chevalier Desanges; Royal Welch Fusiliers Museum)

Below:

Flank Company coatee of the 19th Regiment, with green collar, cuffs and shoulder straps. Note the button-spacing in pairs for this regiment, and the square-ended lace: single round the collar and on the wings, doubled on the collar loop, chest and cuff slash; note also the white lining to the tails. Centre Company shoulder straps terminated in a crescent of the same worsted as the wing edging. (Green Howards Museum)

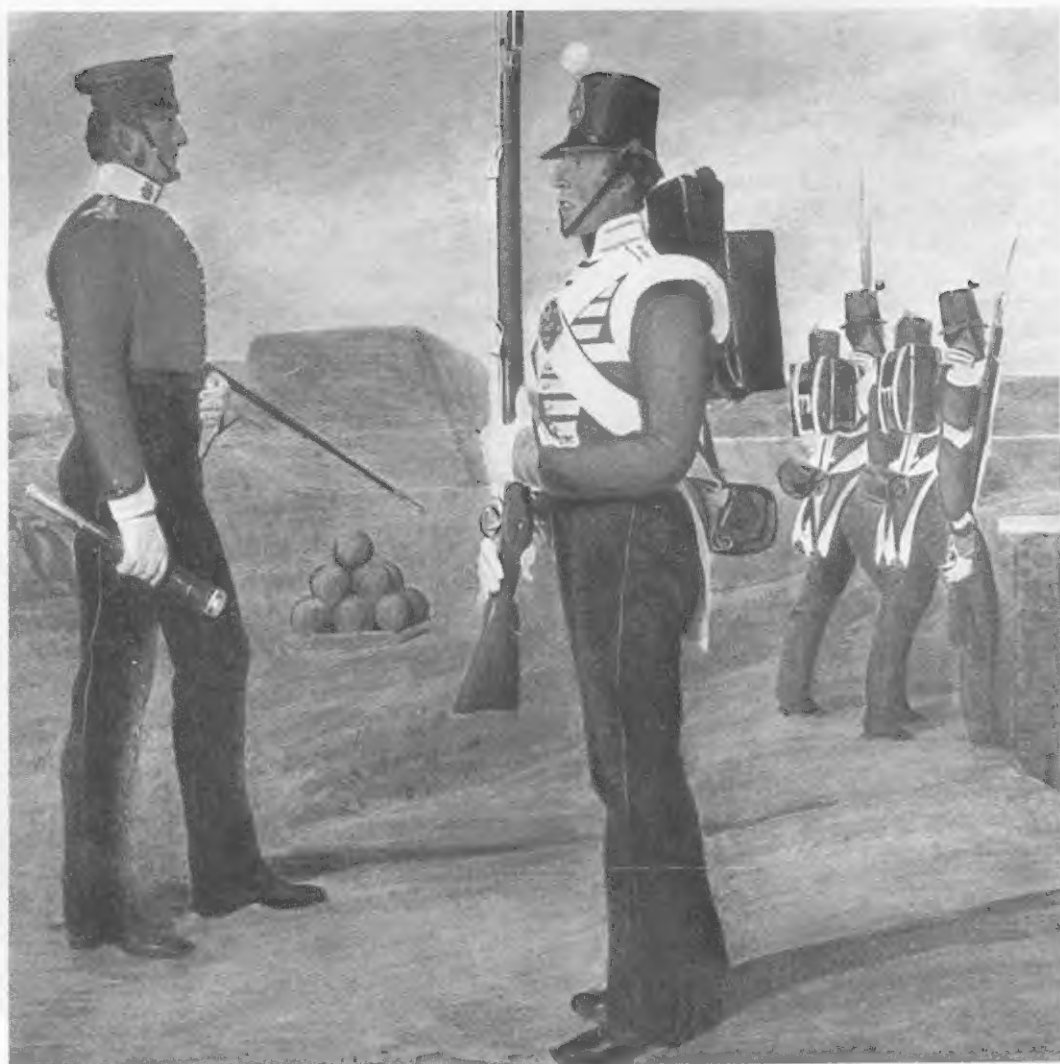
worsted lace, 5½ in. long at the top, 2½ in. at the bottom, in one of three designs: square-end, bastion, or straight-point (see p.12). The collars, shoulder straps and cuffs were all in regimental facing colour, and laced; and the latter were adorned with a red 'slash' with three or four buttons. At the end of each shoulder strap Fusiliers and Foot Flank Companies wore a red wing, laced and edged with white worsted; Foot Centre Companies had instead a white worsted crescent — see colour plates. At the back of the waist were two buttons, 2½ in. apart, above the tails. These latter were edged with sewn-down white 'turnbacks', joined near the bottom with pewter skirt ornaments of a grenade, button or bugle-horn for, respectively, the Fusiliers and Grenadiers, Centre and Light Companies.

Drummers' coatees differed in having special regimental lace and wings, some regiments having coloured tufts (see p. 12). Lace covered the seams, and some regiments had lace chevrons on the sleeves (see pp. 12 and 13). Foot drummers' shakos bore the ball tufts of their respective companies.

The 77th Regiment, c. 1850: a watercolour by David Cuntliffe for an oil painting. Left is the then Maj. Thomas Egerton, who commanded the 77th at the Alma and was later killed in 1855, in forage cap and undress shell jacket (not worn at the battle). Right is Pte. Alexander Wright of the Grenadier Company in full dress; he was later awarded the VC for 'conspicuous bravery during the whole war'. Note the lace spaced singly; and the fact that the bayonet waist belt has not yet been issued. At right rear are a Centre Company corporal and a Light Company private. (NAM: painting, Middlesex Regiment Museum)

Below right:

Unfinished watercolour by Vanson of a drummer and a bandsman of the 23rd Fusiliers. Though the 23rd had bastion lace loops, their drummers had straight-point the better to accommodate the blue Prince of Wales's Feathers motif. Note different arrangement of sleeve lace from that of the 7th Fusiliers on p. 12. Bandsmen normally wore double-breasted white coatees with regimental facings; but this trombonist wears a rank and file coat, perhaps as more practical for action. At the Alma drummers and bandsmen were the regiments' only stretcher bearers. Note the bandsman's Mameluke-hilted sword slung from a waist belt, the drummer having a shoulder belt and probably the 1822 pattern sword.



The coatees of Colour-Sergeants and Sergeants were of scarlet and superior cloth, unlaced in front, and double-

breasted, but were otherwise as for the rank and file (see p. 12). A crimson worsted sash was worn round the waist.

(NB: 'Remote' caption placing for easy reference to right-hand plate)

Captions to colour plate, p. 13:

- (A) Private, Centre Company, 19th (1st York North Riding) Regt.
 (B) Drummer, 7th Royal Fusiliers. Honours emblazoned on the drum are: Talavera, Albuhera, Salamanca, Pyrenees, Toulouse/Martinique, Badajoz, Vittoria, Orthes, Peninsula — all in black capitals on gold scrolls, five on each side of the Arms.
 (C) Shako plate, 7th Fusiliers.
 (D) Shako plate, 23rd Fusiliers.
 (E) Forage cap badge, 7th Fusiliers.
 (F) Shako plate, Grenadier Company, 33rd Regiment.
 (G) Shako plate, Centre Company, 88th Regiment.
 (H) Shako plate, Light Company, 77th Regiment.
 (I) Forage cap badge, Grenadier Company, 19th Regiment.
 (J) Forage cap badge, Light Company, 88th Regiment.
 (K) Shako badge and cockade, Rifle Brigade.
 NCOs' Rank Badges:
 (L) Line, on backing of regimental facing colour, worn on upper arm; right only in Centre Companies, both arms in Flank Companies and Fusilier Regiments:

- (1) Sergeant-Major.
 (2) Quartermaster-Sergeant.
 (3) Sergeant. (4) Corporal.
 (5) Lance-Corporal.
 (6) Colour-Sergeant (in Fusilier Regiments and Flank Companies, with sergeant's chevrons on left arm).
 (M) Rifle Brigade, worn on both upper arms except (6) — right only, with sergeant's chevrons on left. Ranks (1) to (6) as (L) above.
 (N) Good Conduct Badge, worn on right forearm above cuff; here, 19th Regiment.
 (O) Good Conduct Badge, Rifle Brigade.
 (P) Front, Rifle Brigade waist belt with ball bag.
 (Q) Rear, waist belt for Line rank and file, with fixed bayonet frog and pouch 'D' (pouch not shown).
 (R) Rear, Line sergeant's waist belt with sliding bayonet frog and pouch (bayonet not shown).
 Shako and forage cap ball tufts:
 (S) Fusiliers and Grenadier Companies (some forage cap tufts were red).
 (T) Centre Companies. (U) Light Companies. (V) Rifle Brigade.



The rank badges for all NCOs (p. 13) were worn on both sleeves by Fusiliers and Flank Companies, and on the right sleeve only by Centre Companies. Flank Company Colour-Sergeants wore their special badge on the right sleeve, a three-bar chevron on the left. The Sergeant-Major (equivalent to the modern RSM) had a coatee similar to the officers' type but with silver lace.

Officers' scarlet coatees were double-breasted like the Sergeants', but with a closed Prussian collar which, together with the cuff slash, was ornamented with gold lace (see pp. 9, 11). All buttons were gilt, and normally spaced as the mens', though in the 7th, 23rd and 77th they were in pairs. All officers had gold-laced shoulder straps, terminating in epaulettes of gilt metal crescents with bullion fringe of a length according to rank (Centre Companies); in gilt chain wings edged with bullion and ornamented with a silver grenade for Grenadiers and Fusiliers; and in wings bearing a silver bugle-horn for Light Companies. (Fusilier Field Officers wore epaulettes, however.) The 23rd wore their traditional flash of black ribbons at the back of the collar. A crimson silk net sash was worn around the waist, those of Fusiliers and Flank Companies terminating in yard-long cords and tassels. Officers' shakos had a more ornate cap plate and gilt chin chain. Their coatees cost them about 20 guineas (equivalent to no less than £1,400 by today's values); and Capt. Maxwell of the 88th recorded that he landed to fight in the Crimea in the identical garment he had once worn to a ball in Paris.

Trousers, etc.

With the coatee all ranks wore the winter pattern cloth trousers of a very dark shade of grey called 'Oxford mixture', with a 4-in. red welt. The men's opened with a fly and five buttons; the side seams measured 45-49 in. according to height; and the width around the thigh, knee and



base averaged 24, 19 and 19 in. respectively. The trousers reached well up above the waist at the back, and came well down over the boots; hence the practice in the Crimea of turning up the bottoms.

The only undergarments required by regulations for a soldier were shirts, a leather stock, braces, socks (provided and kept up at his own expense), and boots, provided at public expense. Contemporary pictures sug-

gest that shirts were of white cotton or flannel, with a small turn-over collar and a neck button, full sleeves with wristbands, and seams set off the shoulders. Braces were broad, probably of canvas material, with a one-button fastening at each front attachment point, and crossing at the back to two more buttons. Socks were of undyed wool. The stock, designed to fill the gap in the coatee collar

continued on p. 14



Left:

Anonymous contemporary oil painting of Colour-Sergeant George Spence, aged 36, of the Light Company, 33rd Regiment, 'equipped for Alma' (sic), where he was wounded. Note the double-breasted sergeant's coatee with colour-sergeant's badge on the right sleeve, chevrons on the left. His folded greatcoat and blanket are just visible, as is his haversack at the right hip, and his water bottle — the latter can be seen in the original to be inscribed 'LI 33R 1882', the last being his regimental number. Note also the sergeant's sliding bayonet frog. (Bankfield Museum, Halifax: Duke of Wellington's Regiment)

Above:

Officer, 7th Royal Fusiliers: watercolour by W. Sharpe. His coatee has a Fusilier company officer's wings, but his sling waist belt, scabbard and spurs are those of a field officer, who wore epaulettes. Possibly he may represent the Adjutant, ranking as a captain or lieutenant who, being mounted, also suspended his sword from slings — but in that case these were attached to a shoulder belt. Note the Fusilier sash under the waist belt, its ends looped up to a coatee button; and the grenade plate on the shako, which incorrectly has a white-over-red ball instead of the Fusiliers' plain white. (NAM)



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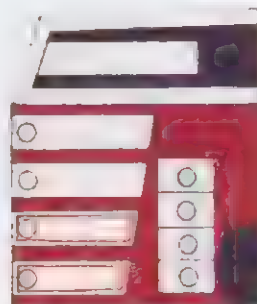


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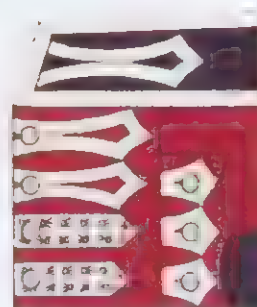
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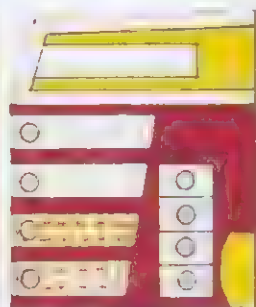
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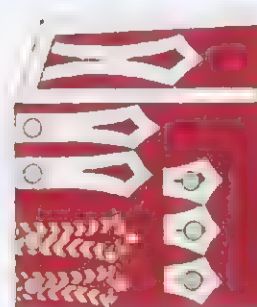
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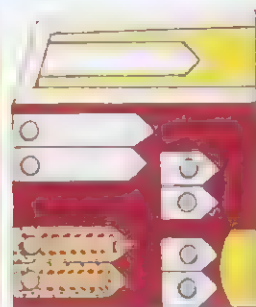
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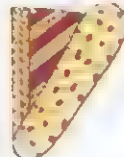
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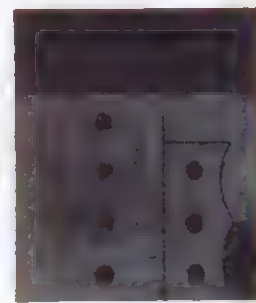
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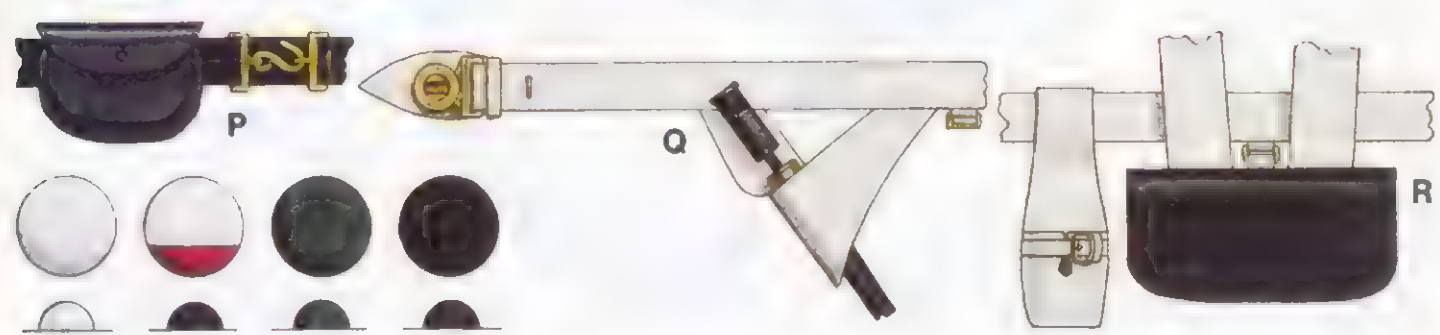


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The Rifle Brigade

The Rifle Brigade wore the same shako as the Line, but with different ornaments (see p. 13). Their uniform was entirely rifle-green, with black facings and buttons, but the coatees of all NCOs and men were double-breasted, with Prussian collars and without lace (see p. 12). Rank badges were worn on both sleeves (see p. 13). Colour-Sergeants having a three-bar chevron on the left; all Sergeants wore crimson waist sashes. Evidence as to Buglers' distinctions is slight, but they may have had white piping on collar, cuffs and sleeve seams.

Except for the shako, Rifles officers wore a completely different uniform of a laced jacket and pelisse in Hussar style (see p. 16), although the latter appears to have been left on board ship when the Army landed. The night before the battle Maj. Norcott, commanding the 2nd Bn.'s left

wing (four companies), found his shako more useful for collecting camel dung for his bivouac fire than as a headdress; so presumably fought next day in his forage cap, as did many of his men.

Forage caps

Forage caps had been among the few items soldiers had been permitted to carry in their reduced kit on landing. These were of the Kilmar-nock, 'pork pie' type: blue for the Line, green for Rifles, with different tufts and badges as illustrated on p. 13. (Though not illustrated in our plate, there is evidence that some regiments had red tufts, possibly for the Grenadier Company, and some Fusilier regiments.) Officers' caps were slightly broader in the crown, with peaks and chinstraps; blue for the Line, green for Rifles, with black silk oak-leaf lace bands and gold embroidered numerals. Exceptions were the 7th and 23rd who, as Royal regiments, had scarlet cloth bands, and as Fusiliers a gold embroidered grenade with, on its ball, the Rose for the 7th and the Red Dragon for the 23rd.

ACCOUTREMENTS

On the morning of the battle the Light Division had paraded in shakos; but as they began their final advance to the river Capt. Wilson, Coldstream Guards, in the supporting 1st Div., saw how 'plucking their forage caps out of the haversacks, they chucked away their detested shakos'. According to an order issued before the landing the caps should not have been in the haversacks (which were reserved for rations), but bundled up with a pair of boots, socks and a shirt in each men's blanket, which was to be carried with the folded greatcoat in the knapsack straps, the knapsack itself being left on board ship: the Staff believed the men were not yet strong enough after the cholera epidemic to carry them.

To this bundle was also attached the mess-tin, a supply of firewood and, for some

continued from p. 11

and to keep the soldier's head up, had been dispensed with before the Army sailed for the Crimea. A further dispensation had been to allow soldiers, in a hitherto clean-shaven Army, to wear beards and moustaches. (Both these measures had aroused Sir George Brown's fury.)

Above:

Cpl. Edward Morley, 2nd Bn., Rifle Brigade: watercolour by his father, 1854. Note the double-breasted coatee without lace, its black shoulder straps terminating in black worsted crescents. The equipment is all black leather, the haversack (left hip) black linen. To the right of the waist belt clasp is the Rifleman's 'ball bag'. That the pouch can be seen behind his left elbow indicates how far to the rear this was worn. He is armed with a Brunswick rifle and sword bayonet, which were replaced by the Minié and socket bayonet before the Rifles left for the Crimea. (Royal Green Jackets Museum)

Right:

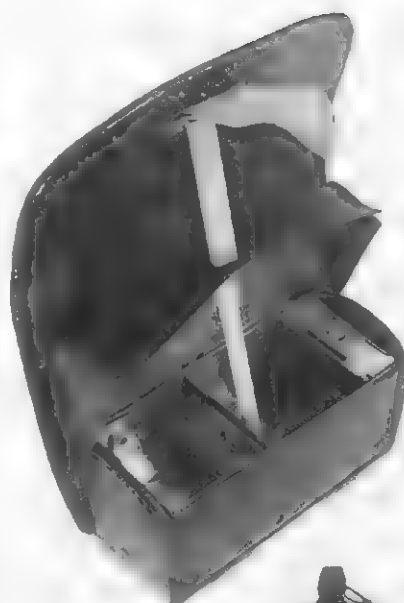
Shako of an officer of the 88th; the white-over-red ball tuft is missing, and the edge of the rear peak is hidden here by the hang of the chin chain. (NAM)

men, either a camp kettle (a bucket-shaped article 7½ in. deep and 10 in. in diameter, issued one for every ten men), or a billhook (issued ten per company). Wilson saw many of the camp kettles share the fate of the shakos; and, as the battalions negotiated the vineyards, Kinglake noticed men discarding their uncomfortable packs. After the battle men were sent back to retrieve them and — according to a Rifleman — their shakos, although 'the Rifles did not bother'.

Besides his bundle-pack, 'greasy haversack pregnant with 4 lb. of pork and three days' biscuit', and blue-painted water bottle, each man had his fighting equipment: ammunition pouch belt and bayonet belt. The pouch, containing 60 rounds and 75 percussion caps, was suspended over the left shoulder from a 2½-in. wide buff leather belt. All Light Division Line battalions had received one of the latest items of military equipment, first authorised in 1850: an adjustable waist belt with a fixed bayonet frog for the rank and file, a sliding frog for Sergeants. (Some battalions of the Crimea Army retained the old shoulder bayonet belt, however.)

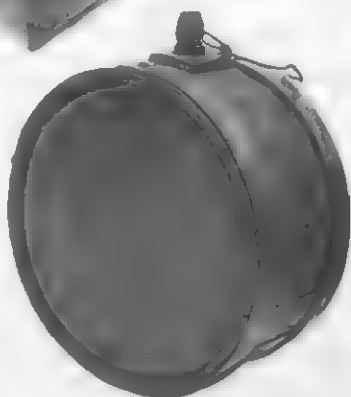
At the back of the waist belt was a brass 'D' through which passed a short strap attached to the pouch, thus relieving the chest and left shoulder of part of the weight of the ammunition (see p. 13). When going into action the soldier could unbuckle this connecting strap, for easier access to the pouch. The belt's clasp bore the regimental numeral in the centre and the title round the circle. To its right was fastened a small brown leather pouch containing caps for immediate use. Drummers, being armed only with swords, had a shoulder belt with frog, but were otherwise equipped as the rank and file (see p. 13). The total weight carried by each soldier, including clothing worn and arms, was about 63 lb.

The Rifleman's equipment was the same as that of the



All-brass soldier's waist belt clasp, 19th Regiment; water bottle, of wood bound with iron, weighing 1 lb 12 oz. empty and holding about 3½ pints; soldier's boots of the period, in black leather with nailed soles; and the interior of the ammunition pouch (N.B. propped open with wooden pegs), showing two compartments for rounds, one for caps. The buff strap fastened to a

stud on the underside. The ends of the shoulder belt passed through two loops on the back and fastened to buckles on the underside. (NAM)



Line soldier except that all belts were of black leather; the clasp was of snake pattern; the haversack was dyed black; all men had sliding bayonet frogs; and a 'ball bag' was fitted to the right front of the waist belt, containing an oil bottle, caps, and a few rounds for immediate use (see p. 13). According to the Crimea drawings of the French officer, Vanson, Riflemen wore their pouches level with the waist belt although — unlike the Line — they normally put the waist belt on over the pouch belt. Their Sergeants' pouch belts were fitted with a regimental badge and a chained whistle, all in bronze.

Officers' equipment

An infantry officer's equipment was customarily confined to his sword belt: the shoulder type for Company Officers and a waist belt with slings for Field Officers. However, for landing on enemy soil, where the availability of transport was an unknown quantity, officers had been told that they must carry whatever they needed

upon their persons. This, according to Kinglake, was 'most unusual'. Very little transport was forthcoming, so officers had to go into action with whatever essentials they could cram into a haversack, or wrap into their rolled cloaks slung over one shoulder.

Some obtained knapsack straps and loaded themselves up like their men. Those who had not purchased flasks before leaving England had to acquire soldiers' heavy water bottles. Prudent officers had bought Colt or Adams revolvers — which they stuck into their sashes — and Dolland telescopes fitted with a leather case and strap. So unaccustomed were they to such impedimenta that, as Kinglake remarked, 'they could not get through the day's march without having to endure great fatigue'. Field Officers were better off, being able to strap more necessities to their horses. Rifles officers were accounted in Hussar fashion, with pouch belt and sling waist belt, but otherwise faced the same problem.

WEAPONS

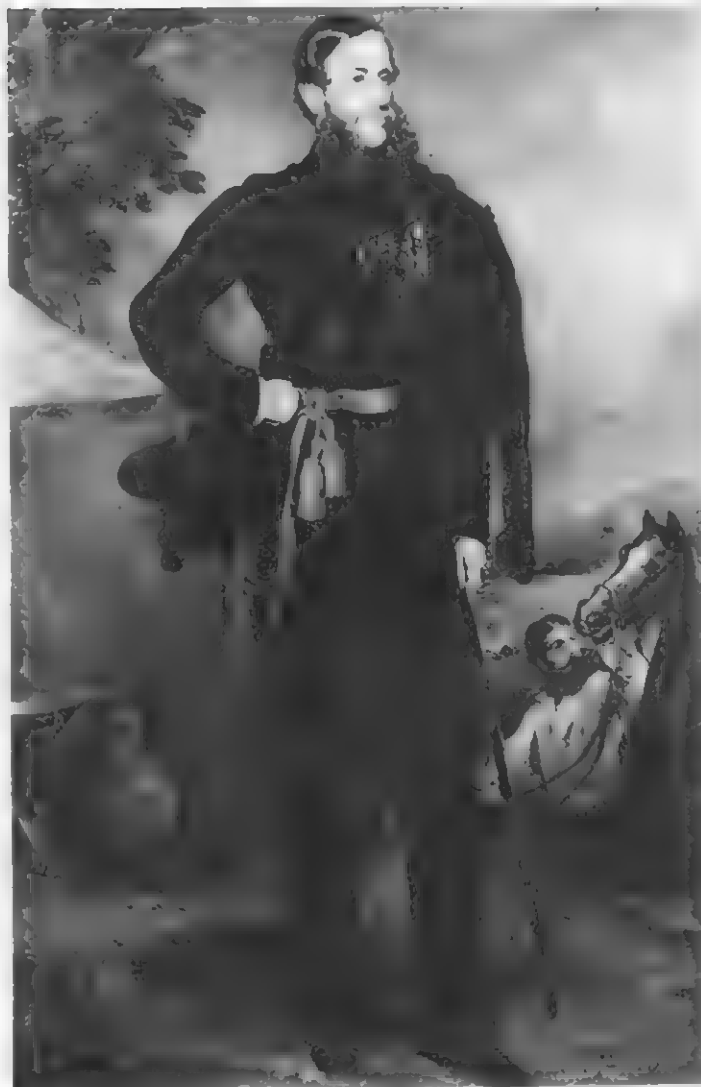
Probably the lightest object an officer had to carry was his sword, which weighed 1 lb. 13 oz., the scabbard accounting for another 13 oz. This was the 1822 pattern with

¹ See MI, No. 3, page 11

Captions to colour plate, p. 12:

- (A) Sergeant, 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers
- (B) Corporal, 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade (Note billhook on pack: ten per company.)
- Soldiers' buttons
- (C) Rifle Brigade. (D) 7th Fusiliers
- (E) 23rd Fusiliers
- (F) 33rd Regiment
- (G) 19th Regiment
- (H) 77th Regiment
- (I) 88th Regiment
- Soldiers' collars, cuffs, button arrangement; chest lace, rank and file (top two in each example); drummers' lace (bottom two in each example)
- (J) 7th Fusiliers (square-end lace)
- (K) 23rd Fusiliers (bastion lace, straight-point for drummers)
- (L) 33rd Regiment (bastion lace)
- (M) 19th Regiment (square-end lace)
- (N) 77th Regiment (square-end lace)
- (O) 88th Regiment (straight-point lace)
- (P) Rifle Brigade (no lace)
- Drummers' Wings
- (Q) 33rd Regiment
- (R) 88th Regiment
- (S) Minié rifled musket
- (T) Socket bayonet
- (U) Line musket sling
- (V) Rifle Brigade sling

Capt. the Earl of Erroll, 2nd Bn., Rifle Brigade, whose company helped clear the vineyards at the Alma; he was painted in Bulgaria in 1854 by Sir Francis Grant. Although it is hard to make out the details, the short Hussar-style jacket with three rows of buttons and the fur-trimmed pelisse had black braid loopings across their fronts. The black collar and cuffs were ornamented with plain and figured black braid. The sash was crimson. Note the badge and chained whistle on the pouch belt, and the black waist belt with sword slings. The pouch can be seen just above his right hand. (Royal Green Jackets Museum)



half-basket hilt in brass for the Line, steel for Rifles, and a slightly curved blade 32½ in. long and 1 in. wide at the shoulder. The scabbard was brass for Field Officers, steel for Rifles and Adjutants, and black leather with gilt mountings for Company Officers. To the guard was fitted a crimson and gold sword knot with bullion tassel; Rifles had one in black leather.

The same sword was carried by Sergeant-Majors and Quartermaster-Sergeants, and by Drummers, though with only a 29½-in. blade, unless a special regimental pattern was issued. The 7th Fusiliers' drummers carried straight swords with a brass grip, crossbar guard and crown-shaped pommel. There is evidence that the 19th's and 88th's drummers had the 1822 sword, as did possibly the 23rd, but the type used by the 33rd and 77th is unknown.

The battle of the Alma was the first major action fought by the British Army with the Minié rifled musket, first introduced in 1851, and with which all the Light Division, including the Rifles, were equipped. This weighed 10 lb.; was 4 ft. 7 in. long overall with a 39-in. barrel; had a calibre of .702 in.; and had a leaf backsight graduated from 200 to 1000 yards. Muzzle-loading, and with four grooves in the barrel, it was fired by the percussion system, and had a rate of fire of more than two rounds per minute. A round could penetrate 5½ in. into a deal target at 250 yards; and at 800 yards 77% accuracy was obtainable at an 8 ft. square

target. It was calculated that whereas at Vittoria in the Peninsular War only one round out of 459 fired from an old flintlock took effect, at the Alma the Minié achieved one in 16. It was reported that one round fired at 400 yards had dispatched three, if not four Russians one behind the other.

The Minié's bayonet weighed 15½ oz.; it had an equi-angular 17-in. blade, and when not fixed, as was customary in action, it was carried in a black leather scabbard with brass mountings.

The most easily controlled firing was by volleys, either by companies, by wings, or by whole battalions. However, in the loose order in which the Light Division attacked at the Alma this was impracticable, and most firing was by files, as skirmishers, or simply by each man blazing away as fast as he could.¹ As the battalions climbed to the Great

Redoubt, firing as they advanced, the 33rd, which alone had managed to form some semblance of a line, probably engaged the Russians either by volleys or file-firing. Kinglake noticed men of the 19th and 23rd standing 'in clusters', firing at will into an advancing column, which proved effective enough to force the column's retirement. As for the 7th Fusiliers' long fire-fight at 50 yards' range, their colonel, Lacy Yea, though normally a strict disciplinarian, made no attempt to enforce the drill-book methods; he simply employed his considerable powers of command to maintain some sort of line, 'allowing every man to make the best use he could of his rifle'.

Effective though this independence of fire and movement had been in capturing the Great Redoubt, it had been expensive in ammunition and casualties; and the confusion in and around the

captured position made it impossible for the regimental officers to regain control and consolidate before the Russian reserves counter-attacked. Had the 1st Div. advanced more speedily all might have been well; as it was, that division had to do the work over again. But the Light Division's fight greatly impressed their opponents who, unaccustomed to the line formation or a semblance thereof, had not thought it possible — in the words of Capt. Hodasevich of the Taroutine Regt. — 'for men to be found with sufficient firmness of morale to attack, in this apparently weak formation, our massive columns'.

Furthermore, in an era when many still judged a battalion's worth by its ability 'to march like a wall and wheel like a gate' — without which solidity, it was thought, infantry must suffer — the Light Division's achievement was all the more impressive. To attack successfully across a river and uphill against infantry and artillery in, at best, 'a knotted chain', and at worst in a mob, reflects greater credit upon the initiative, determination and skill-at-arms of the individual soldier than he was normally accorded by some military authorities at the time. But then, as he was to prove again at Balaclava, at Inkerman, and during the appalling winter of 1854–55, the long-service British soldier of the Crimean War was of sterling quality. M

Sources:

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The Invasion of the Crimea, A. W. Kinglake (Vol. 1, 1863)
From Waterloo to Balaclava: Tactics, Technology and the British Army, 1815–54, Hew Strachan (1985)
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Contemporary Queen's Regulations, Dress Regulations, Royal Warrants, Horse Guards Memoranda, Infantry Manuals, Crimean General Orders

Detailed source references for this article appear in the first-named source above

¹ In file-firing the files were closed up, each file firing in turn the rear rank man after his front rank man, both reloading as the next files fired. When skirmishing the files were extended a given number of paces at 0.1, each file working independently but maintaining the skirmishing line.

The Face of Medieval Warfare

CHRISTOPHER GRAVETT

On 27 July 1361 a force of Danish invaders fought, and defeated, a defending army at Wisby on the Swedish island of Gotland. What sets this battle apart from a thousand others fought in medieval Europe is that it left a unique record, in bone and iron, to be interpreted by modern historians. For some reason — perhaps the fear of disease in hot summer weather — at least some of the fallen were thrown hastily into grave-pits without being stripped of their war-gear. More than 500 years later, their excavated graves yielded up not only precious examples of 14th-century armour; but the skeletal remains of no less than 1,185 individuals, many of them bearing clear evidence of the wounds which caused their deaths. Analysis of these hacked and punctured bones can give us a vivid idea of the reality of medieval hand-to-hand fighting.

THE ARMOURS

Three common graves were found, and excavated between 1905 and 1930. A fourth, smaller, grave was left undisturbed. Two other sites were known, but had apparently been despoiled or destroyed.

In addition to the skeletal remains more than 20 armours were found which enabled reconstruction to be attempted. These range from coats-of-plates to lamellar. In Western pictorial art, especially of the 14th century, the coat-of-plates is usually shown worn over a padded jacket and a mailshirt. The whole is frequently concealed beneath a surcoat of varying length, though by the mid-14th century this is often short enough in front to reveal the hem of the 'plates', recognisable by the rivet heads fixed to the fabric covering. In Germanic lands the fashion for wearing armour without a surcoat enables the details of such 'plates' to be studied on carved effigies and other representations. Very few fragments of such coats survive.

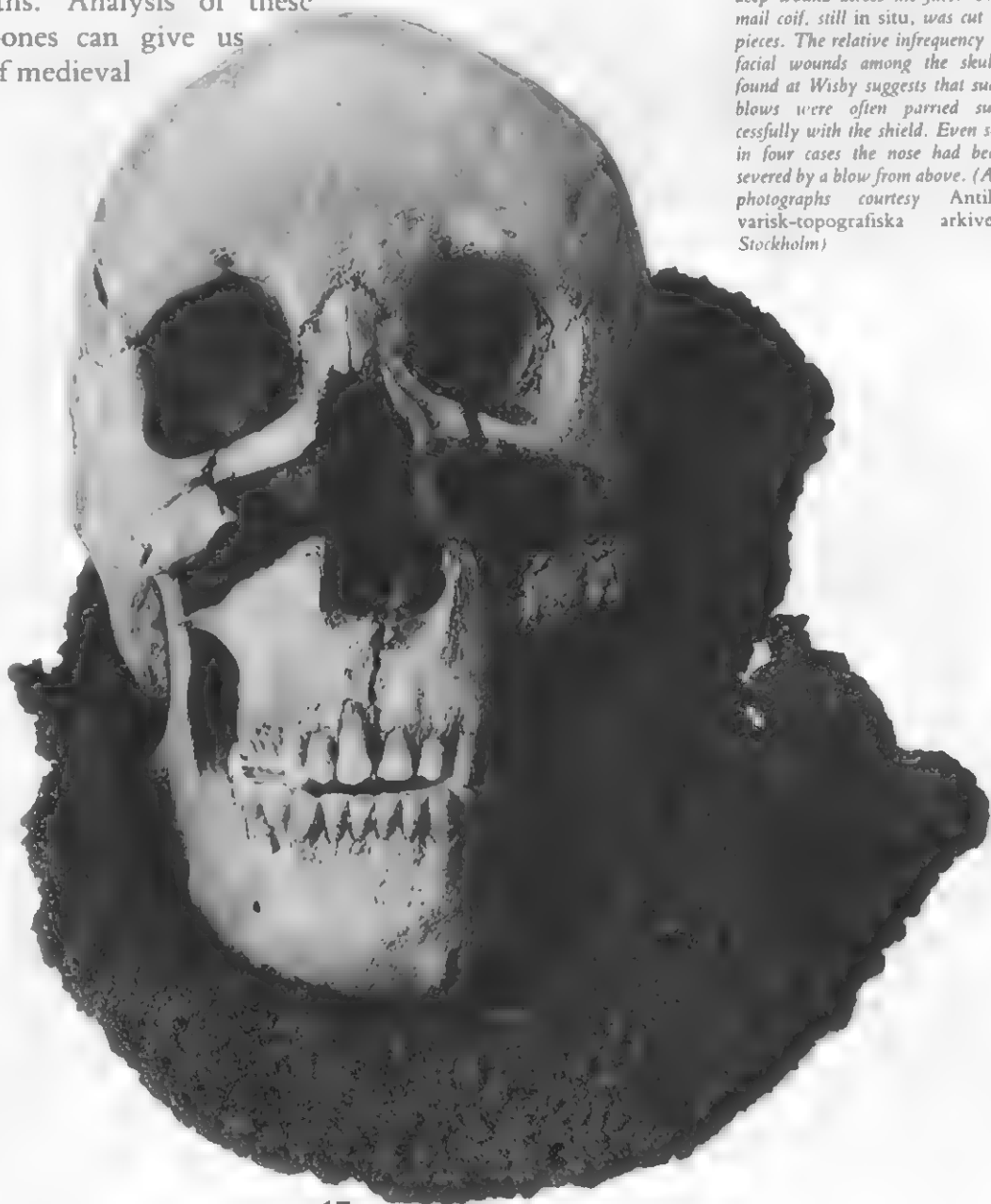
Some metal hoops from Küssnach in Switzerland date to the second quarter of the 14th century. They were probably attached inside a covering worn 'poncho'-style and laced at the sides. All the Wisby finds derive from a similar form of harness.

The armour from Wisby may be divided into six types, all except the last formed of plates riveted inside a cloth or leather covering. The first (Armours 1-7) was worn 'poncho'-style, and extended from the front round the sides to fasten over an unarmoured back flap. Vertical plates protected chest and sides, with horizontal plates overlapping upwards at the lower abdomen. Armour 7 bore bronze heraldic escutcheons, fleurs-

de-lis and shell mounts fixed over some of the rivets at the front: it perhaps belonged to a wealthy Dane. In Types 2 (Armours 8-15) and 3 (Armours 16-18) vertical plates alone were used, attached at the front in two or more rows respectively: in Type 3 the lowest formed a skirt.

Type 4 (Armours 19-23) differed in that the harnesses were not fastened over a back flap. Armours 19 and 20 opened at both sides and may have been armoured at the back, while the others opened at one side and one or both shoulders. In Type 5 (represented only by Armour 24) about 550 very small plates were used, with ten rows in front (two for a skirt) and

The terrible effects of close combat. A powerful blow has inflicted a deep wound across the face. The mail coif, still in situ, was cut to pieces. The relative infrequency of facial wounds among the skulls found at Wisby suggests that such blows were often parried successfully with the shield. Even so, in four cases the nose had been severed by a blow from above. (All photographs courtesy Antikvarisk-topografiska arkivet, Stockholm)



eight at the back. The armour opened in the centre front and the front of both shoulders, prompting Thordeman to suggest that Armour 23 was an intermediate form, since its side opening was the closest in that group to the front.

Type 6 consisted of armour



Right:

The reverse of a coat-of-plates: Type 1, Armour 1. In three armours of Type 1 an iron loop was riveted to the upper edge of a plate beside the back opening to fasten a strap supporting the weight of the armour. Armour 4 was fitted instead with two buckles, similar in style to that worn by the carved warrior on the pews in Verden Cathedral, although the latter has plates riveted inside the back flap.⁽¹⁾ At least seven armours of Types 2 and 3 also had loops, and one may have had two. On Armour 1 an iron scallop-shaped plate guards the shoulder; and a coif was found with this example. (Author's drawing)

⁽¹⁾ A drawing of the Verden carving, and a photograph of the plates from Wisby Armour 1, will be found in the present writer's Osprey MAA 166, *German Medieval Armies 1300-1500*

Right:

A reconstruction of Armour 21, Type 4. The lower plates continue here to form side skirts. Shoulder armour consists of three plates each side, with six smaller ones and three semi-circular plates fastened externally. Each shoulder piece was attached at the rear with three hinges. In Armour 22 the opening was on the other side but closer to the front, and it could probably be buckled at the front of both shoulders. (Author's drawing)

Far right:

Lamellar armour: Type 6, Armour 25. Six horizontal and three vertical rows were used at the front, with eight horizontal rows at the back and a row over each shoulder. Originally a larger, double-curved lamella may have been placed centrally in each row, the other lamellae then overlapping outwards on each side of it; however, the armour had been altered. When found, it was discovered that rows of lamellae had been riveted inside a leather covering to make it appear more like a coat-of-plates. The right shoulder strap had been attached to a hinge and buckle, and a large semi-circular plate had been added to each shoulder. (Author's drawing)



of lamellar construction — small plates laced together through a series of holes. Only one could be reconstructed. The rows were wider at the bottom than at the top, with over 600 lamellae in total. The armour fastened at both sides. This form of armour was rare in Western Europe, and represented a type in use for centuries further east; it is likely to have been worn by a Gotlander rather than a Dane. There were probable parts of two other such coats among the remains, plus fragments that may have belonged to some uncovered armours.

MAIL

Several mailshirts were found, though only two were complete. One reached no further down than the stomach, and had long sleeves, the upper arm being loose, presumably to ease movement. It is not known if a coif was worn with it. Mail extended to the base of the fingers, suggesting that the fingers and palms were covered with fab-

ric or leather, though mail guarded the thumb. None of the shirts was found in connection with a coat-of-plates, as represented on effigies; perhaps armour may have been shared, because of a shortage of equipment?

Other finds included nearly 200 mail coifs, many in pieces but some still enclosing the skulls of their wearers. All were separate, none being attached to a bascinet. Traces of bronze could be studied on one coif. Originally this had been a band 20 cm wide, the front forming the upper edge of the face opening. Did this serve as an ornament? Other coifs showed bronze links near the collar edge, and these sometimes formed a diamond pattern.

It was suggested that thongs were laced through them to secure the cloth arming cap beneath; and certainly bronze links were found edging the mail of mittens which definitely had cloth or leather at the palm — traces of leather were found on a loose mail gauntlet.



Thordeman suggested that bronze in contact with the leather thongs might preserve them, but in fact verdigris from bronze would slowly deteriorate textiles or fibre.

Limb defences, and weapons

Three fairly complete gauntlets were found in which plates were riveted to the outside or inside of leather or cloth — usually the inside, thus requiring a lining. Only occasionally were they connected directly to one another by rivet or hinge. Three plates were found which appeared to have been attached to shoulder, elbow or knee by means of laces or rivets. 'Cuir-bouilli' (hardened leather) may have been used on arms and legs, though no traces were found of such defences — and the legs display numerous wounds. Two groups of five plates seem to have comprised foot armour. Buckles for armour, gauntlets, spurs and especially clothing were recovered, over half being simple round iron forms. Strap mounts were also unearthed: 16 button-shaped bronze pieces had probably come from a strap, while others had been placed on the belt in a zig-zag pattern. Three rowel spurs were found still attached to the heels of their owners, showing that some had fought mounted.

Evidence for weaponry was slight. Thirty-eight socketed, square-section bolt heads were found, one with a shaft fragment attached. None was noted as being especially sharp. Some spear heads also emerged, as well as some square iron points which probably came from a mace head. The lack of weapons, helmets and shields may perhaps be attributed to the ease with which they could be picked up from the field and carried away.

Graves 1 and 2 at Wisby showed evidence of haste in the way the corpses had been flung in. All but two of the coats-of-plates came from Grave 2, while Grave 3 contained little body armour: it



may have been dug first, when there was more time to remove the war-gear before interment. This grave contained many more young individuals, and those of ages inappropriate for service; it also contained remains with more, and more severe limb wounds, yet few head wounds. It is possible that these remains represented the Gotland peasant army, while the other two graves contain both Gotlanders and Danes.

THE SKELETONS

Much research was carried out on the skeletal remains⁽¹⁾ by Bo Ingelmark, in order to establish the effects of weapons upon them. The findings have to be considered with certain overriding factors borne in mind. Firstly, bones are covered by muscles of differing thickness. The thigh is obviously better protected than the shin. Where severe wounds are evident on the bone, we can only assume that no armour was worn: yet

how effective was armour? One coat-of-plates (Armour 7) revealed that the wearer received a blow to the side of the right breast which ripped the covering and split the iron plates. Several mail coifs were found cut to pieces by blows.

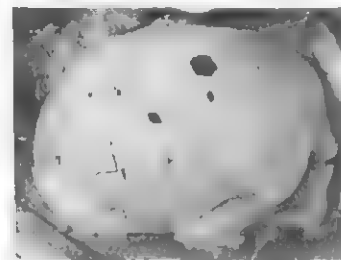
Secondly, we do not know what kind of edged weapons inflicted the wounds. The majority were presumably caused by sword or axe. Ingelmark was amazed at the evident power of blows which had sliced through garments, flesh, muscle and bone, and in several cases suggested swords held in both hands (the 'bastard' or 'hand-and-a-half' sword was in use at this time). Could such blows not have been dealt in some cases with staff weapons instead? Some axes were designed for use with both hands; and ordinary bills on long hafts, swung by strong men, would have caused fearful damage.

Care must be taken in collating the material since no

A tremendous blow has severed both legs; it was probably dealt with a hand-and-a-half sword or a pole weapon. On long bones of the arm and leg only 29 blows were identified which had actually managed to sever the limb, usually on the lower leg. The majority of these wounds had been dealt with a single stroke.

Below:

A cranium displays several holes caused by missiles; the larger, hexagonal hole was probably caused by a spiked mace. Powerful blows to the skull can also be seen in the remains of victims of the halberds and pikes used by the Swiss in the 15th century. At Wisby, an arresting feature is the number of multiple bolt wounds to single skulls. (Photographer: N. Agelius)



soft tissue remains. Hence thrusting wounds to the trunk cannot be identified unless they happen to leave score-marks on ribs or back-bone, to which Ingelmark makes little reference. Such a wound, inflicted with spear or dagger, may be seen on the ribs of a medieval skeleton from Cox Lane, Ipswich, England. (The rare cases of survival of tissue reveal other facts: a possibly 14th-century corpse found intact at St. Bees in Cumbria, England suffered two fractures to the jaw and a broken rib, and a large pool of blood was discovered in the lung, probably punctured by the rib.)

Of all bones found at Wisby, the tibia or shin bone sustained the most injuries, more especially on the left leg. The central third of the shin bone's length received 65% of both superficial and deep tibial cuts. The other long bones showed far fewer wounds, over half of which occurred on the thigh. Of the arm bones the humerus — upper arm — showed most wounds. Little damage to hands was visible, presumably both because of their

⁽¹⁾ The average height of the dead men was about 168 cm — 5 ft 6 in

A sequence of combat as proposed by Ingelmark after analysis of the wounds on the Wisby skeletons. The warrior 'A' wears a harness in the style of Armour 1, plus mail, and gauntlets of plates riveted inside a cover. 'B' has a jacket-style harness like Armour 22. The 'kettle hat', axe and sword are contemporary types, though not found in the graves

The more superficial the cuts, the more often they appear on the left side, suggesting a continuous man-to-man contest. On the shins, cuts to the front were most common, almost twice as many falling on the left than on the right leg; similar proportions were noted on the outside of the shin

(1) Man B aims his first stroke at his opponent's right, forcing man A to bring his shield across his body. Alternately, this first blow might have been a vertical cut from above.

(2) The blow is checked, and deflected: A swings his shield to the left, forcing B's sword away. Some blows might have been lucky enough to strike home on A's outer right leg at this point, if the sword were glanced swiftly downwards off the shield before the sweep began; but examples found may equally have been caused by a left-handed opponent, a back-handed blow, or when the victim had turned in flight.

(3) With his sword now on the defender's left, B quickly delivers a second blow over and inside A's shield before it can be brought back to the guard position. Aimed obliquely, it may hit the left side of the head; or it may cut or glance lower, to the outer part or front of A's left leg. About a quarter of the cuts to the shin hit the inside surface, but most often these were to the lower part of the right leg, suggesting 'follow through' of blows aimed at the left leg. It has also been proposed that a blow at the head at this stage might have been a feint, causing man A to lift his shield and expose his legs for a cut under it.

(4) While not mentioned by Ingelmark, logic suggests that we can extend the scenario in this way: a successful parry by A allows him to deliver his own stroke at B's unguarded left leg. (Drawings by Richard Hook)

mobility in combat, and because of the evidence for the use of gauntlets. Wounds to the foot are rare — it was easier to aim at the legs. Skulls were often fragmentary, making examination more difficult. Almost half the blows to the head struck the parietal bones at the top, either singly or in groups of cuts. This question of wounds found as single or grouped cuts is important.



Superficial cuts (though by no means negligible, since they had penetrated to the bone) occur frequently as single wounds: this tempts the conclusion that when two men exchanged blows each had to concentrate on defence as well as on attack, so delivered fewer blows, which tended to be lighter, and delivered one at a time. A large number which came down vertically on the shin are single strokes, suggesting evenly-matched warriors able to parry such glancing cuts.

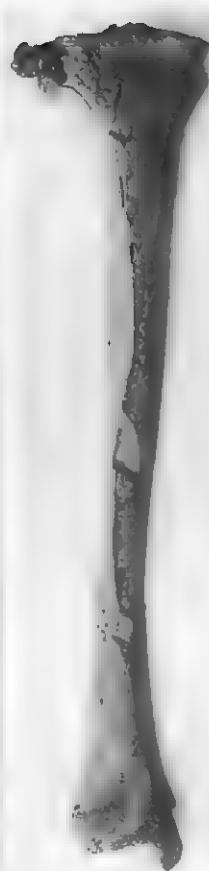
Of the blows aimed at the head vertically from above, some 80% were also single cuts (common in Grave 1), indicating some difficulty in pressing home such an attack with repeated blows to the same spot. Perhaps a helmet or shield gave effective pro-

tection. However, there were a number of vertical single cuts to the front of the head which penetrated the bone, no doubt knocking out or killing the victim outright. Single blows often hit the left side of the head.

Of the tibial cuts, 60% are single wounds; here the number landing from the left are not as noticeable as with multiple wounds. This suggests that single cuts were frequently received in general combat, when blows could not be as carefully aimed or grouped. Ingelmark was led to associate this with the fact that deeper cuts often occur in multiples, inflicted when the attacker had gained the advantage and could rain down repeated, well-aimed blows with all his strength, without having to concentrate on self-defence. The

largest number of multiple wounds came obliquely from above, as did about two-thirds of the blows to the tibia. Head wounds also show a preponderance from this angle.

Deep cuts displayed less 'left bias' than superficial ones. Such wounds could have come from swords or pole-arms swung with both hands, which might strike either side of the victim's body. Equally, they could have been inflicted on prostrate victims, when the attacker could concentrate on dealing a powerful stroke. Some struck both right and left side until a bone was severed. On the head, multiple cuts are more evenly distributed between left and right, suggesting that the man was felled, and then struck again. The number of



cuts, many of them single, found on both left and right of the small area of the back of the head supports the idea that the injured were usually finished off with additional blows.

The Cox Lane skeleton displays at least six wounds, of which four may have been inflicted when the victim was on the ground. At Wisby the cuts to the back of the legs were probably received when the victim was down, or had his back turned. The large number of blows to the occipital bones at the back of the head contrasts with skulls from the 14th-century battle at Zaimokuza, Japan, where no such wounds occurred. Since neck armour was worn at both battles, the argument for the dispatch of fleeing or fallen warriors at Wisby is the stronger. (So much for not hitting a man with his back turned . . .) The strong muscles of the neck, and the widespread use of mail coifs, account for the fact that only half of these cuts penetrated the bone.

A few cuts to the head were struck horizontally, a difficult stroke which was probably aimed at a fallen man. At

Zaimokuza, riders were striking shallow-angled horizontal cuts across the forehead, which sometimes skidded across the bone. By contrast, the deeper cuts — perhaps those delivered by infantrymen — showed no skidding, and, as at Wisby, were sometimes steeper-angled vertical blows.

The majority of blows struck from below are single cuts; the direction and number imply that these were aimed at mounted men who could withdraw more easily after suffering a single blow. The scarcity of such cuts to the head implies the difficulty of an infantryman striking the head of a mounted and probably helmeted rider. However, there may have been more multiple wounds to the head — suggesting a prostrate victim — since those mentioned came from Grave 1, which was more thoroughly investigated. The Cox Lane skeleton also had a cut delivered from below, to the left thigh. At Wisby the majority of these upwards cuts occur on the right leg; and three-quarters of wounds which struck obliquely at the front of the head also occur on the

right. This effect may be the result of the rider turning his sword-arm side to the enemy in order to engage him, leaving that side unprotected by his shield; or perhaps, of a footsoldier pushing forward and striking at the rider's right side while he was defending his left?

Missile wounds

The effects of missiles can be studied by inspecting wounds to the head; and the large number of these indicate how many missiles must have hit the much larger target of the trunk, without leaving any evidence after the decay of soft tissue.

Only crossbow bolts were found, and it is not known if longbows were used. The numbers of injuries in each grave-pit show that crossbows were in use on all parts of the field. On the head, single missile wounds are much commoner than single cuts from hand weapons, though in nearly half the cases these types of wound were combined. Many of these occurred in Grave 1, perhaps reflecting conditions on one part of the field. Either a missile struck the man after he was felled; or else he was hit by a bolt, and later finished off by a blow while helpless.

Missile wounds tend to be more common on the left, supporting the idea that warriors presented this side to the enemy. Over 50% of bolt wounds occurred on the top of the head; almost a seventh were in the back of the head, perhaps striking fleeing or fallen men. About 125 skulls display hits; those with one wound show similar percentages over the cranium. Perhaps heads were turning at the moment of impact, or perhaps archers also got behind the enemy?

Vertical wounds imply a large elevation, even if the head was bowed, since velocity drops and compresses trajectory. Horizontal wounds indicate a direct aim, as crossbowmen closed in. Over 25% of the victims of bolt wounds were hit by more than one (presuming that some of these wounds

Left:

A tibia — shin bone — the commonest site for cuts from edged weapons. This is the only example found to show a crossbow bolt wound as well: the head can just be seen embedded at the top left. The only other identified missile wound among the Wisby skeletons which did not strike the head was to a pelvic bone. (Photographer: N. Agelius)

Far left:

A cranium seen from below. A bolt head (indicated in white outline) has entered the face through the nose and is lodged inside the cranium, just below the teeth in this view. Five crania were found with crossbow bolts inside them; three others show trauma on the outside of the bone, presumably caused when the bolt emerged having passed right through the head — an appalling indication of the power of these weapons. (Photographer: N. Agelius)

were not caused by spiked maces or lances with similar-section heads). The man had probably spun round or collapsed, and was then hit again.

Summary

It would appear that the majority of men fought right-handed, presenting their left side to the enemy. The leg was the main candidate for injuries, probably because few infantry wore much protection on the legs, and because a blow sweeping in under the shield was hard to parry. Wounds received in the general give and take of man-to-man combat tended to nick the bone, until one blow struck home and the victim dropped his guard. The attacker then swiftly followed up his advantage with several aimed blows, using all his strength. It did not matter if the victim was lying on the ground or had his back turned: when fighting footsoldiers, 'chivalry' was a meaningless word. MI

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Tigerstripe Camouflage of the Vietnam War (1)

LEE E. RUSSELL
Painting by RONALD B. VOLSTAD

Throughout the decades-long Vietnam conflict, Free World military forces made extensive use of camouflage clothing. During the period of the Indochina War, French Union forces issued camouflage dress of both British and American World War II vintage to their élite units, before finally introducing their own designs. Later the USA and Australia would also design their own patterns for South-East Asia. But by far the greatest innovator in this area would be the Republic of Vietnam. Among the reasons for this were a well-developed textile industry, decentralised clothing procurement, and a background of experience with foreign camouflage patterns upon which to draw. The Vietnamese developed several distinctive camouflage designs; but the most successful was the type known as the 'Tigerstripe' pattern.

In addition to use by the Vietnamese, this was also worn by the special troops of other Free World forces operating in Vietnam; and eventually its wearers would include virtually anyone with a claim to élite status. Within a short time the Tigerstripe uniform would become something of a symbol of all élite forces in SE Asia, in the same way that the French 'lizard' uniform came to symbolise the paratroops of the Algerian War. The Tigerstripes were also copied in other SE Asian countries. Today, authentic examples command high prices from collectors: yet, to the author's knowledge, no systematic study of these uniforms has yet appeared.

ORIGINS IN 'ADVISOR PERIOD'

Like other aspects of the Vietnam War, the early history of the Tigerstripe uniform is uncertain; but credit for its development seems to belong to the Vietnamese Marine Corps, who adopted the distinctive pattern of black bars against a green background as their official combat uniform in August 1959. The pattern itself is known to be descended from the French 'lizard' pattern of the mid-1950s, which had been introduced during the latter stages of the French involvement.

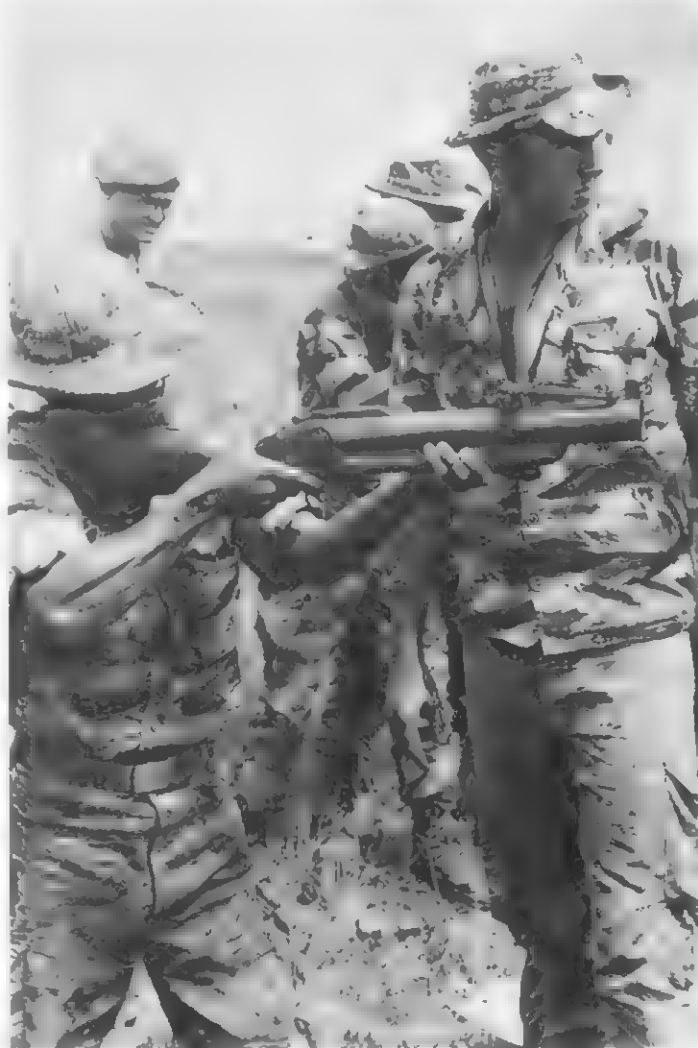
By 1959, however, the VNMC were being re-

organised by US Marine advisors along the lines of the USMC; and their uniforms also showed a marked American influence in style. While the French had preferred a baggy cut and numerous pockets for their combat clothing, the VNMC uniforms followed the American idea of tailoring, comprising a reasonably close-fitting shirt and trousers with a minimum of pockets in each. The Tigerstripe camouflage pattern proved to be surprisingly effective, and the material was soon being used for a variety of combat items.

During the early 1960s the US Army Special Forces were also serving in Vietnam, involved with the Civilian Irregular Defense Group programme. This was a CIA-sponsored effort to enlist Vietnam's ethnic, political and religious minorities — otherwise prohibited from serving in the Republic of Vietnam armed forces proper — in the anti-Communist struggle. The war they were fighting was one of stealth and ambush along Vietnam's disputed borders. Camouflage clothing seemed of obvious value in these lush and verdant regions: but there was a problem.

At this time, prior to major deployments to Vietnam, the US Army was hostile to the idea of camouflage uniform, largely for doctrinal reasons. Camouflage was considered defensive, even passive in nature, while American doctrine was offensively oriented. There was nothing in the Army inventory to be issued.

In the beginning the CIDG made use of CIA resources, procuring commercial 'Duck Hunter' camouflage clothing off the shelf from such sources as Sears Roebuck. However, as the CIDG programme expanded, and especially as it was removed from CIA control, its needs outgrew this stopgap measure. In the early 1960s more formal contracts were let with MDAP (Mutual Defense Assistance Pact) funding. MDAP made US military assistance dollars



An often-published photograph of CIDG troops in training at the Trung Sap Training Center, March 1967. Both the Special Forces trainer and the CIDG trainee wear MDAP Tigerstripes with broadbrimmed 'boonie hats' (US Army)



Left:

Plate 1: Vietnamese Marine pattern Tigerstripe shirt of a US Army Special Forces staff sergeant, photographed here with a period 'green beret' (which has printed very dark) with 5th Special Forces Group (Airborne) flash. The shirt is unusual in being fully 'badged up' with US ARMY and individual name tapes; full-colour Combat Infantry Badge, and Vietnamese parachute wings; and subdued US Parachute Badge and rank chevrons. It is shown decorated with the Vietnamese Gallantry Cross with Palm (Anh-Dung Boi-Tinh voi Nhanh Duong Lieu), a common award to Army advisors. (Thomas J. Hunt collection)

Below:

Sergeant First Class, 'Project SIGMA', Vietnam, 1968. This Hawaiian-American Special Forces NCO (for some reason 'Project SIGMA' included a number of men of this background) wears an unusual private-purchase Tigerstripe variant: a rare 'vertical pattern' made in Thailand. This was found to be extremely effective camouflage, but was hard to obtain, even on Bangkok R & R. (In addition to fatigues, the material was also used for flight suits.) He wears the green Special Forces beret, with 5th SFGA flash; OD canvas and black rubber 'Bata boots'; and the full-colour 'Project SIGMA' patch, suspended from a right pocket button in a clear plastic protector. Note the 'wrong-way' slanted pocket flaps; these will be covered in Part 2 of this article.



available for 'third country' or 'off-shore' procurement, and contracts were let in several SE Asian countries.

These contracts were for identical uniforms in two different patterns: a Duck Hunter pattern (sometimes called the 'Leopard' pattern); and the Tigerstripe pattern. By now, of course, SF advisors were familiar with the Tigerstripes worn by the VNMC, and many were even wearing them themselves in-country. Samples were taken to the HQ of the 1st Special Forces Group on Okinawa to be studied and copied. The MDAP uniforms — which would eventually be made in Okinawa, Thailand, Taiwan and Korea — were produced in both Vietnamese and American sizes, labelled 'A-S', 'A-M' and 'A-L' for 'Asian Small, Medium and Large', and 'U.S.-M' and 'U.S.-L' for Americans. Generally speaking, the Tigerstripe pattern proved more useful than the Leopard¹; and gradually the 'off-shore' pro-

duction was shifted into this line. Soon after the introduction of the MDAP uniforms, Vietnamese-made versions of them also began to appear, both camouflage patterns being copied.

By the mid-1960s the war was going badly for the Republic of Vietnam, and the Vietnamese armed forces were in the process of expansion. In spite of the chaos which it was sure to involve, it was decided to create a new type of élite infantry by withdrawing one company from each infantry battalion, and grouping them together to form Ranger Battalions. Partly for tactical reasons, and partly for morale purposes, it was decided to give the Rangers camouflage uniforms. Due to its availability, the Tigerstripe pattern was naturally among the types chosen. The Ranger uniforms

¹The Leopard pattern has sometimes been misidentified as a World War II US uniform, but this is incorrect: it differs in cloth, styling, pattern and colours

Fig. A: Vietnamese Marine pattern shirt. Apparently the original pattern. Two patch pockets, plain cuffs. The shoulder reinforcements, which are duplicated at the rear, are the major recognition feature; they are also characteristic of several other Vietnamese-made uniforms, both camouflage and plain. (Confusingly, some collectors also call this garment style the 'Ranger' pattern.) The Tigerstripe pattern used with VNMC uniforms is also distinctive, being made with a larger proportion in the lighter colour greens, giving the uniform a sort of overall 'murky' appearance. Both tailorshop and ARVN QM Directorate labels can be found on these items. The thin green buttons are also typical of Vietnamese-made uniforms. All examples of VNMC Tigerstripes seen by the author have been in 'lightweight' cloth. Although made originally for the VNMC, this pattern of uniform was also worn by other personnel, ARVN and Allied. Inset: Variant with shoulder straps.

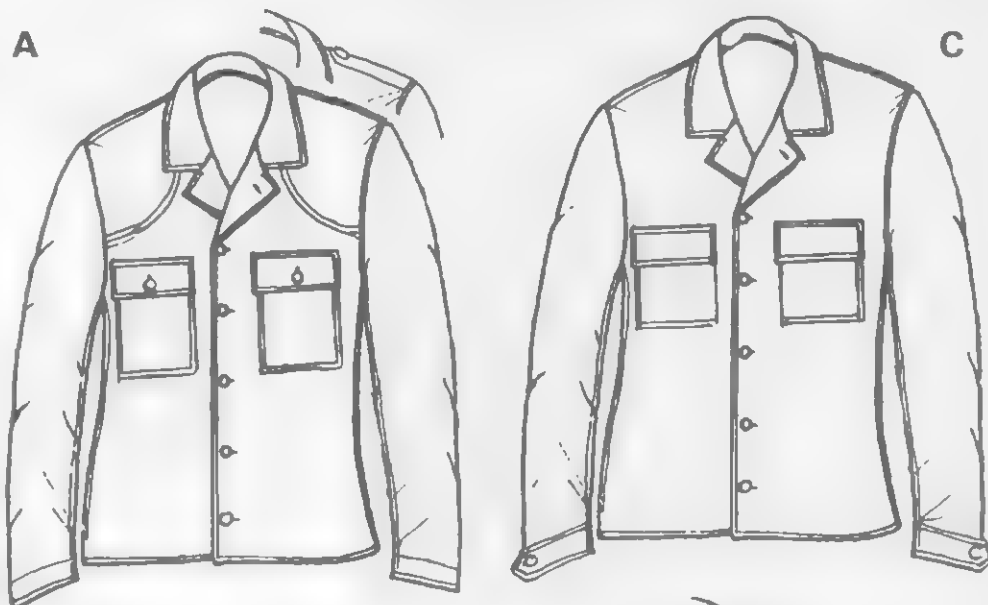


Fig. B: MDAP shirt. Two patch pockets, buttoned cuff bands. Vietnamese copies have the characteristic 'chicken' pockets — the derivation of the term is unknown, but it refers to a pocket made with a 'bellows' gusset in one vertical edge only, the other edge being sewn down. Examples can be found with US-supplied Army 1950s OD Brown plastic buttons; with locally procured black, blue or green buttons; and possibly even with late 1960s US Army oval-section buttons. Insets: Shoulder strap and 'chicken' pocket variants

only, and concealed buttons. These, and the use of 'heavyweight' cloth, are the main recognition features. The identification of Korea as the country of origin is perilously tentative, but this is a commonly found variant. For some reason it was favoured by members of CIA-sponsored Provincial Reconnaissance Units, which carried out highly effective counter-intelligence operations against Viet Cong cadres and the VC infrastructure in the late 1960s. On this basis it has also been termed the 'PRU' or 'CIA' Tigerstripe pattern, although there is nothing to suggest anything other than an ordinary MDAP contract origin. The concealed pocket buttons eliminated one common user complaint: that buttons were easy to tear off by snagging on brush or webbing gear in the field.



Fig. C: Korcan-made (?) MDAP contract shirt. Buttoned cuff bands; and strangely designed pockets with 'bellows' in inner edge

were made in Vietnam under contracts let by the ARVN Quartermaster Directorate, whose inspection stamp they bore.

PROLIFERATION FROM 1965

With the arrival of large American forces in 1965, other Tigerstripe users entered the picture. Until then advisors to the CIDG or

the Rangers wore either the MDAP uniforms, or had 'custom' uniforms made up by one of Vietnam's many tailorshops. This continued; but now the number of special items increased considerably. Apart from the standard uniforms, various sorts of hats, berets, flying suits and survival vests, even swimming trunks were being made, along with custom uniforms which did not conform to previous patterns. The wearing of camouflage uniforms was supposedly restricted to members of certain units¹, but in practice purchasers included all sorts of military and even non-military personnel (e.g. correspondents) who wanted to sport Tigerstripes as off-duty wear.

The American presence also affected the camouflage situation in another way: once they realised its value, the Americans developed their own, non-Tigerstripe camouflage patterns and introduced them to the country. The Vietnamese in turn were influenced by American ideas, and new schemes were produced. At about the same time several other Asian countries — notably Japan, Thailand, and the Philippines — had recognised the value of Tigerstripe camouflage, and came up with versions for their own armed forces. Some of these variants were introduced into Vietnam by servicemen who either trained in these countries, or visited them on Rest and Recreation leave.

In the late 1960s yet another type of Tigerstripe clothing appeared, this time of a purely civilian nature. The manufacturers of commercial hunting clothing had also taken note of the pattern, and began to produce hunting clothes in Tigerstripe pattern. Much of this manufacture was done in SE Asian countries, sometimes even in countries also producing the military versions.

Finally, in recent years a number of companies have undertaken the manufacture of Tigerstripe uniforms for the enthusiast market. Most of these are straightforward copies of various modern military items, but a few are very accurate reproductions of 'classic' Vietnam War patterns.

¹At various times authorised American Tigerstripe wearers included US Army Special Forces and Long Range Reconnaissance Patrol units; helicopter scout pilots and their supporting infantry, termed Aero Rifle Platoons (ARPs), Marine Corps Force Recon, and Navy Special Forces (SEAL) teams. US Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps pilots and USAF Para-Rescuemen also had the option of Tigerstripe flight suits before 1967. Other authorised non-Vietnamese wearers included the Reconnaissance units of Thai and Korean contingents, Australian and New Zealand SAS personnel, and some Australian advisors to the Vietnamese.

THE UNIFORMS

Before taking a detailed look at the various uniforms, we should make a few general comments:

As Tigerstripe manufacture was spread over many years and several countries, items may be found in a variety of styles, fabrics, and details. Among collectors, variations are more the rule than the exception. Reproductions of various sorts exist, and the inexperienced collector should be on his guard. Naturally, if at all possible, one should try to study an authentic item before making any purchase, perhaps by visiting a museum or a local collectors' show. Finally, one should beware of embellishments, especially flashy patches and insignia. Tigerstripes were combat clothing; and although some were certainly decorated with insignia, the vast majority of authentic uniforms encountered are either plain, or perhaps bear an individual nametape only.

A word about **fabrics**: camouflage uniforms made in SE Asia can be found in several weights of cloth, and some collectors even use this as a way of classifying items which they acquire. It is a rough guide, at best. Generally speaking, the MDAP uniforms came in a medium

weight cotton fabric similar to that used for the standard US fatigue uniform of the period. Vietnamese-made uniforms could also be of this weight, but were commonly of a much lighter material, like that of a civilian dress shirt. To make things even more confusing, some examples are also made of a slightly heavier material. Things to avoid are synthetic fabrics, and items made from rip-stop fabrics: authentic uniforms were all 100% cotton.

Colours are also sometimes used as a guide, but here again there is no generally accepted classification system. The condition of the garment also plays a part, as dyes faded with wear and time. When new, most garments appeared olive green with black stripes; actually, the green portion is made up of three green shades, in various proportions, and the black stripes sometimes appear dark blue, even when new. With use the basic colours often faded to grey and purple respectively. Some items made under US Air Force contracts in the early 1960s had an overall blue tone to all the colours. Patterns made for the Thai armed forces (but *not* those made under MDAP contracts) have a much darker appearance than any of the others.

Of the foreign Tigerstripes, the Japanese pattern appears with brighter colours than most, and with the various colours in almost equal proportions. The Philippine pattern, which the author has only seen in hats, caps and berets (although uniforms do exist, of course) has a distinctive yellowish cast to all its colours. In addition, all the Philippine headgear examined by the author have a common feature: they reverse to another colour, i.e. olive green, yellow, or survival orange. The Tigerstripe pattern adopted by Nationalist Chinese Special Forces in the mid-1970s is made of heavy-weight cloth in bright, distinctly green colours.

(It might also be worth mentioning that the Peruvian Army, of all people, currently use a Tigerstripe uniform which they manufacture themselves. The jacket and trousers examined by the author could easily pass for private-purchase Vietnamese items, apart from the Peruvian labels. It might make an easy fake for an unscrupulous dealer, except for the fact that it has a higher value to camouflage collectors for what it really is. Tigerstripe uniforms are also in use in Honduras, but precise details of these are lacking.)

In general, **labels** can

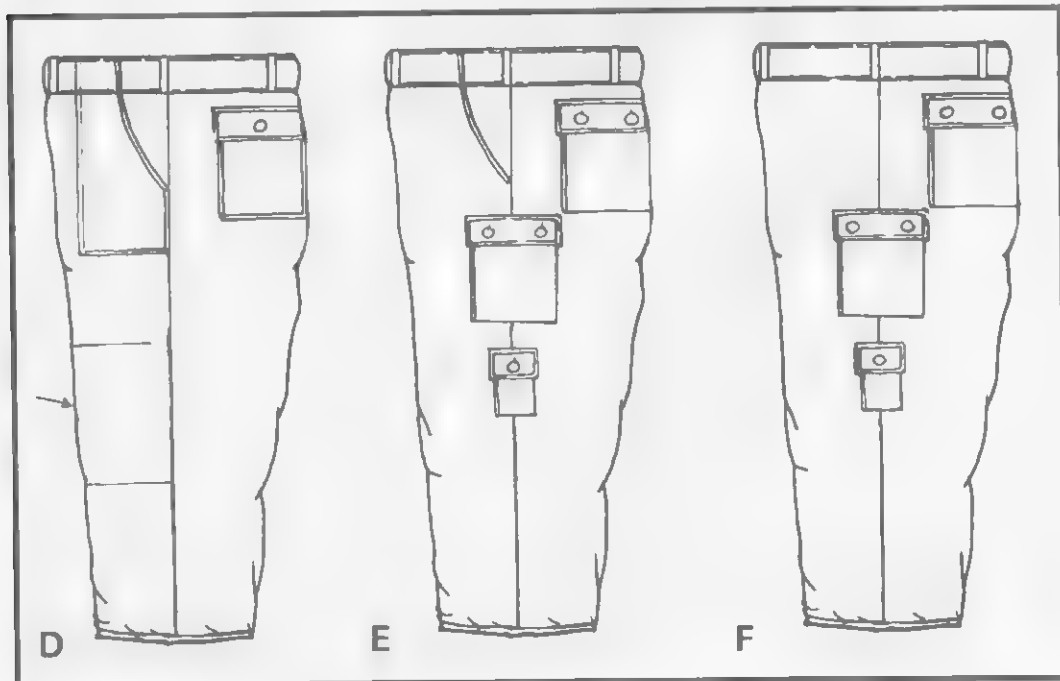
provide the uniform collector with valuable information as to exact origin and date: but not so with Tigerstripes. The average example will often be unmarked, or contains only the 'A-S', 'A-M', 'A-L', 'U.S.-M' or 'U.S.-L' stencil in black. On some rare examples a US-type white cotton label may identify the MDAP manufacturer, but these are often faded or illegible. Tailorshop-made custom uniforms may have a maker's label, sometimes identifying the place of origin, but often they are unmarked. Finally, Tigerstripes made for the ARVN or VNMC were stencilled with a 'box' of information identifying manufacturer, place and date of contract, etc., centered on the letters 'T.T.S.K.Q.T.' (the Vietnamese abbreviation for their Quartermaster Directorate).

continued on p. 28

Fig. D: VNMC trousers. Four-pocket type resembling US OG-107 fatigue trousers of the period, the rear patch pockets closing with exposed-button flaps. One major difference was the reinforcing patch at the knee (arrowed), not found on the US uniform. VNMC uniform trousers are all of 'light-weight' fabric, with green plastic buttons, and have the characteristic 'murky' appearance. This style was also used by tailorshops for private-purchase items, however, and similar trousers — though lacking the knee reinforcement — may be found in various weights and colour variations.

Fig. E: MDAP-type trousers, which changed the type and layout of the pockets. They now had seven pockets: two front, two rear, two side, and on the left leg only a smaller bottom pocket for a field dressing. (This latter became known as the 'cigarette' pocket.) All except the front pair closed by exposed-button flaps. Originally all probably closed by a single button (the 'Leopard'-pattern examples made at the same time certainly did); but the author has none of the single-button type in his collection and prefers to be conservative. MDAP contract garments were usually made in 'heavyweight' cloth, with the same types of buttons as mentioned under Fig. B.

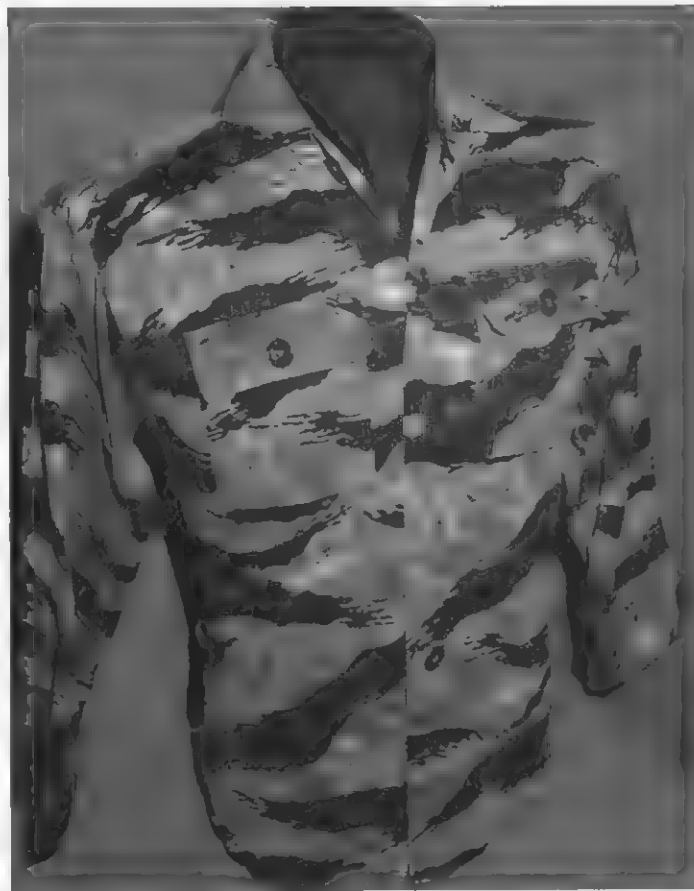
Fig. F: Later-pattern MDAP trousers, in which the front pockets were eliminated; they were inaccessible when wearing webbing gear, anyway. On some examples the field dressing pocket also closes with two buttons.





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Plate 2: A second 'Vietnamese Marine' pattern shirt, this time a private-purchase example worn by a US Marine advisor. Shoulder straps are provided for attachment of the VNMC naval-type rank insignia, although metal devices could also be worn on the collar, as shown. The white-on-green individual, and subdued US MARINES name tapes were exclusive to the US Marine Advisory Group to the VNMC. A pen pocket has also been added to the left sleeve. The patches indicate (on left shoulder) the VNMC as a whole, and (right pocket) the Marine Division. (Author's collection)

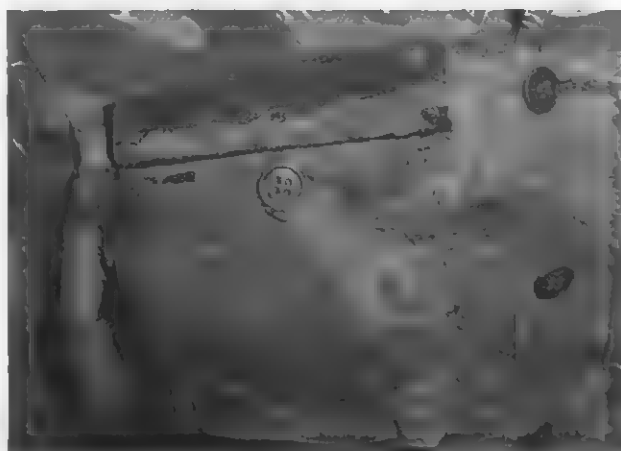


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Plate 3: The 'MDAP' Tigerstripe shirt, with its single-button 'chicken' pockets; here, as usually found, devoid of insignia. (Author's collection)

Plate 4: 'Korean-contract' MDAP shirt, virtually unworn, and made — as are all the examples examined by the author — in 'heavyweight' material. (Author's collection)

Plate 5: A second 'Korean MDAP' shirt, identical in cut to Plate 4 but showing the effect of fading from washing and sunlight. Even in this heavy material the colours have undergone their normal transformation to 'greys and purples'. Lighter-weight uniforms underwent this process much more rapidly, of course, but the author has chosen this particular example to show the effect of wear on a garment of indisputably 'standard'



quality. Many collectors nevertheless persist in regarding these worn 'purple' uniforms as a true variant in their own right. (Author's collection)

Plate 6: 'Korean-contract' MDAP shirt detail, showing characteristic concealed button arrangement. (Author's collection)

Plate 7: 'Vietnamese Marine' trousers, left side; this example lacks the knee reinforcements usually encountered, but is otherwise typical of this variant. (Author's collection)

Plate 8: 'MDAP' trousers, left side: the 'classic' style recognised by collectors, except that this particular example has been altered by the original wearer, a Special Forces soldier, by the removal of both rear

pockets. Note, once more, that the small field dressing pocket, if found at all, appears on the left leg only. (Author's collection)

Plate 9: 'Later MDAP' pattern trousers, left side: this is the model which eliminated the front (hip) pockets. (Author's collection)

Plate 10: Vietnamese-made 'MDAP' trousers, right side: this example incorporates standard US military plastic buttons throughout; thicker and stronger than anything else available, they indicate a late-war garment. (Author's collection)

Plate 11: Early 'MDAP' trousers, left side, this time with the field dressing pocket closed with double buttons. (Author's collection)

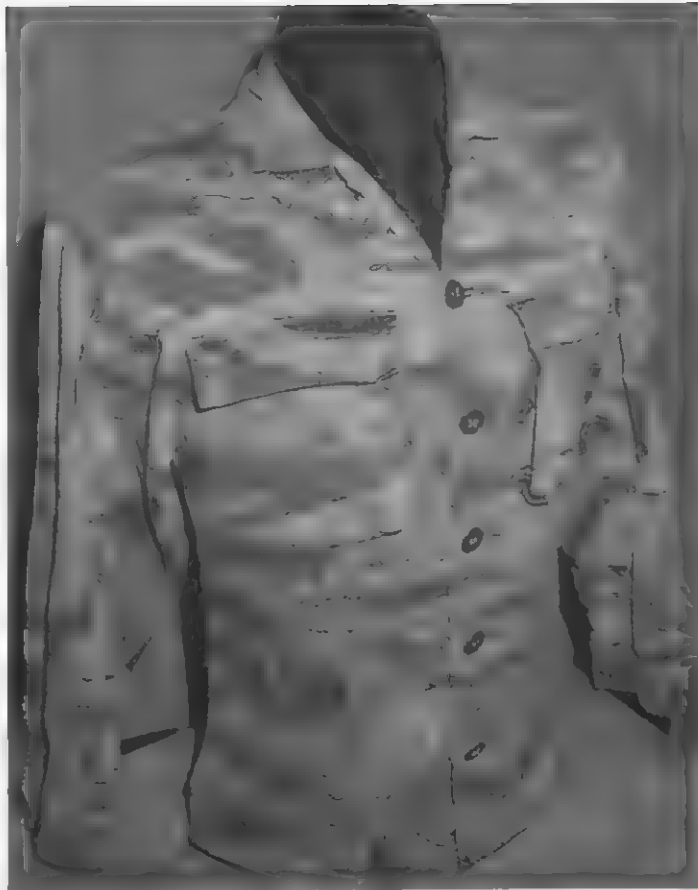
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A US Marine advisor and a VNMC officer at Quang Tri City in December 1972. The American major wears a 'normal' VNMC pattern shirt, complete with pen pocket and full-colour insignia. His VNMC trousers have had cargo pockets added to the legs. Both garments have US military oval-section buttons throughout. The Vietnamese officer, a doctor, wears a 'Korean' MDAP shirt, modified by the addition of a pen pocket and shoulder straps, and VNMC-type trousers. (US Navy)

continued from p. 25

The uniforms themselves can be divided into several groups, which we identify and discuss in the captions to the accompanying drawings and photographs:

Vietnamese Marine Corps uniforms

MDAP uniforms (both 'third country' production and VN-made copies)

ARVN uniforms

Vietnamese-made private purchase uniforms

Foreign-made Tigerstripe items

(Special-use Tigerstripe items should also be considered.)

The drawings are scaled from items in the author's collection, and adapted with permission from drawings which appeared originally in *Vietnam Combat Uniforms* by Thomas J. Hunt and M.

Albert Mendez, New York, 1980. The Tigerstripe pattern has been omitted for clarity throughout.

Acknowledgements

In the preparation of these articles the author has had the assistance of many military veterans and collectors. It is not possible to mention them all, but the author would especially like to thank Mr. Al Mendez, Mr. Adam Dintenfuss, Mr. Tom Hunt, and Mr. Severino Mendez for their help. In addition he would like to thank Mr. Al Ramsley, of the Natick Lab-

oratories, Natick, Massachusetts, and Mr. Hopkins, formerly of the Engineering Research & Development Laboratory, Ft. Belvoir, Virginia, for their help in refuting rumours of an American origin for the Tigerstripe uniform. All conclusions and opinions, however, remain the author's throughout. **MI**

To be continued: Part 2 of this article will cover ARVN, Vietnamese private purchase, and foreign-made Tigerstripe uniforms, and some special-use Tigerstripe items.

British Mercenaries in the Baltic, 1560–1683 (2)

RICHARD BRZEZINSKI
Paintings by RICHARD HOOK

Between 20,000 and 30,000 Scots, perhaps 10,000 Englishmen and a few thousand Irishmen bore arms for Sweden during the Thirty Years War. They fought often with a reckless bravery that earned them great respect, especially from the great Swedish soldier-king Gustavus Adolphus, who valued his Scottish officers particularly highly.

Even to limit oneself to researching the service of these men in Gustavus's German campaigns of 1630–32 is to face a mammoth task. This is not lightened by the fact that many British colonels commanded regiments made up entirely or partly of Germans; nor by the incidence among these colonels of identical names: we find two Robert Monros, two John Monros, two James Ramsays, two James Spens, two Alexander Leslies, and others.

Though many British officers greatly admired Gustavus, and perhaps even saw in his cause the means of restoring Charles I's sister Elizabeth to the throne of Bohemia, such motives could have concerned few of their troops. The promise of money and booty attracted many; though as volunteers became ever scarcer, the majority seem to have been forced into service against their will. Indeed, we often hear that in England and Scotland: *'The order was given to seize upon all vagabonds of the high road, all incorrigible bankrupts and all vagrants of whatever description'*.²⁷

Donald Mackay, first Lord Reay was one of the great Scottish mercenary recruiting agents. He is reputed to have sent 10,000 men to the Continent, his levying being immortalised in the Gaelic

proverb: *'He who is down on luck, can still get a dollar [recruiting money] from Mackay'*. By 1628 he had so emptied Scotland of men that future sources of supply were restricted to the Highlands and islands.

THE GREEN BRIGADE

Mackay raised a regiment under his own command for Danish service, which passed into Swedish service in 1629. Thanks to Robert Monro's book, *Monro His Expedition* . . . printed in London in 1637, the history of this regiment is one of the best known of all Swedish units of the time.²⁸

Organisation

Mackay's regiment, like most British units in Swedish service, was organised along Swedish lines. The basic Swedish administrative units were the regiment and company, though on campaign these were regrouped into 'squadrons' and brigades. In theory, a brigade contained two eight-company regiments, fielded as four squadrons each of four companies. At full strength a squadron numbered 216 pikemen, 192 musketeers, with 96 'commanded musketeers' making in total 504 men. Formations were six deep, 'corporals' and 'rotmasters' being file-leaders, and 'under-rotmasters',



file-closers. In practice, however, these proportions were rarely achieved.

Monro mentions that Mackay's regiment became part of the Green Brigade on arriving on the Oder in the spring of 1631. The Brigade also included the regiments of John Hepburn, James Spens, and Stargate, and was often termed 'Hepburn's' or the 'Scots Brigade'. It was, however, not entirely Scottish — the senior unit was Hepburn's Green German regiment, from which the Brigade took its name. Since four regiments were initially required to make up the brigade, they were probably at very low strength, though Stargate's and later Hepburn's regiment disappeared, leaving only two.

Pikemen in particular were often so scarce that they had to be formed up only four deep.²⁹ Soldiers disliked the pike and cumbersome pikeman's armour, and often

Alexander Leslie (c. 1579–1661), Earl of Leven: 'Leslie the Great', the most famous Scot who fought for the Swedes. He entered their service in 1605; in 1622 was lieutenant-colonel in Ruthven's regiment; and by 1626, colonel of a Swedish territorial regiment, when painted by Kräill. He played a major part in the German campaigns, becoming governor of the Baltic Coast. In 1631 he assisted the Marquis of Hamilton in levying troops; in 1636 he became field-marshal.

He returned to a troubled Scotland in 1638, taking weapons in lieu of back-pay, and was appointed lord-general of all Scottish forces. He commanded the Scots at Marston Moor and at Dunbar, where despite his objections the Scots 'gave over themselves to be commanded by him as if he had been great Solyman'. He is depicted here in elaborate white and red clothes with gold braiding (Swedish Collection; photo: Tom Scott)

ditched them at the first opportunity. Monro notes that pikemen often *'cut off the lengths of their pikes as often seen upon marches, being very*

²⁷ See source notes at end of article



Richard Hook's reconstructions illustrate:

(A) Irish/Highland musketeer, 1631. The bare-legged ('redshanks') musketeer wears the belted tartan plaid in use by 1590. German accounts suggest this was made from dark wool — 'their sheep being, as is well known, of a dark colour'. Brown, green and blue were the favourite tartan colours; red and yellow, being more difficult to dye, were used in smaller quantities. There is no reliable evidence to suggest the existence of clan tartans in this period. The 17th-century bonnet seems to have been quite large: Moryson in 1598 mentions 'flat blew caps very broad', and wide, very dark blue ones appear on a 1660 portrait. Green, black and grey bonnets were also worn. He carries a dirk and a single-edged peasant shortsword, reconstructed from near-contemporary examples; and a matchlock copied from a surviving English musket of c. 1630. The 'Swedish feather' was a combined musket-rest and anti-cavalry stake, reconstructed here from models made for Gustavus. Though some sources say it was obsolete by 1629, Turner, who arrived with a British regiment in 1632, states 'I have seen them made use of in Germany'.⁴³



(B) Marquis of Hamilton, 1631.

In the cuirassier armour of senior officers. He wears soft boots, and carries a baton of office. His armour is based on a Van Dyck portrait of the Marquis, with a beaver hat from portraits of other officers. Hepburn, in particular, was famous for his fine armour, though many officers wore little or no plate, perhaps imitating Gustavus, whose wounds prevented him wearing any.

(C) Thomas Muschampe (1580–1629).

Probably an Englishman, a lieutenant-colonel in 1623, here, presumably, in ornate 'walking out' uniform. The officer's sash is of a typically Swedish pattern, in the colours that became customary by Gustavus's death. The partisan, carried also in battle, was the standard equipment of the Swedish infantry officer. Note richly laced sleeveless buff-coat. (After a portrait by Georg Günter Kräill.)



Right:

'Barbarians' of the "Swedish Armada" — a Scot, Laplander, and Livonian (modern Estonian or Latvian), grotesquely distorted in Imperialist propaganda of 1631. The Scot seems to wear a dirk, a survival of the medieval 'ballock' knife. The sprigs of leaves on the Scot's 'knapsack'⁴⁴ and the Livonian's hat are rare representations of the field-signs worn e.g. by the Swedes at Breitenfeld in 1631 (Photo: Army Museum, Stockholm)

Above:

'A Scot is directed to flog the Papists.' The officer wears three-quarter cuirassier armour, and typical sash and boots. The flanking Imperialists are distinguished by their old-fashioned, slashed sleeves; the central figure is a Croat or Pole. (British Library)

Left:

'Irishman, Lapp, and Finn', broadside of 1631. Many Highlanders turned up to a parish muster of 1638 with both how and musket (British Library)

(continued from p. 29)

uncomely to see a squadron of pikes not all of one length'.

Indeed, he regarded the pike as 'the most honourable of all weapons, and my choice in day of battle, and leaping a storm . . . with a light breast-plate and good head-piece. . . . I would choose a good halfe-pike to enter with'. The traditional fondness of Scots for the pike may well be one reason why Gustavus, whose tactics relied heavily on the pike, preferred Scots troops.

The 'commanded musketeers' were the squadron's light infantry; armed with specially lightened muskets, possibly used without rests, they skirmished ahead of the squadron, or operated independently, and were sometimes positioned in the intervals between cavalry troops to provide close fire support. The fleet-footedness of the 'Irishmen' recorded in the German broadsides no doubt came in useful here.

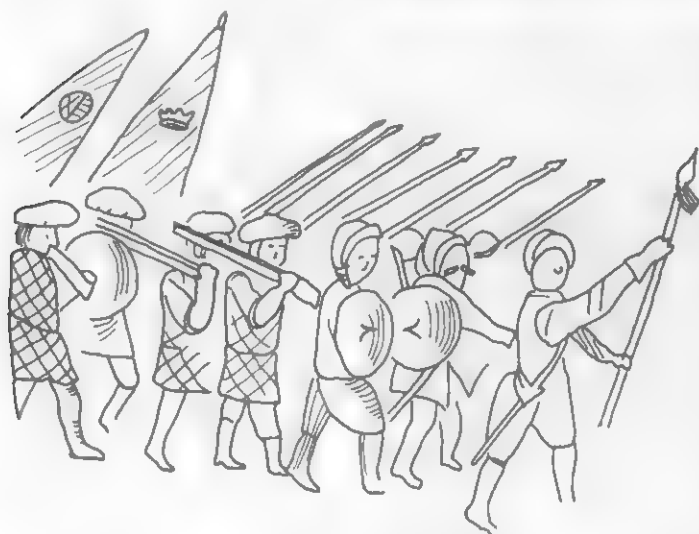
Each company of Mackay's/Monro's regiment nominally contained 150 men

Patrick Ruthven (1586?–1652). Lord Etrick, Earl of Forth and Brentford. In 1615, when only a captain, he raised 1,000 troops for Swedish service. In 1623, when painted by Kråill, he was colonel of the Swedish Småland field-regiment. At Dirschau in 1626 he was knighted, along with Alexander Leslie, by Gustavus; in the German campaigns he commanded a German regiment, and by May 1632 had risen to major-general. He returned to England, and after Edgehill (1642) became Royalist general-in-chief. Nicknamed 'Rotwein' (red wine), he had a remarkable ability to withstand the effects of alcohol, which he employed, in specially arranged drinking bouts, to extract secrets from persons suspected of intrigue against the Swedish crown. Like many Scottish mercenaries, 'always illiterate to the greatest degree that can be imagined', he was criticised during the Civil War for being 'deaf, drunken and ignorant'. He wears a doublet (note effect of separate 'tassets'), breeches, stockings and hat all in pale purple with gold embroidery; a tan hat feather; and sash and ribbon garters in olive green with gold borders. (Skokloster; photo SPA)



Below:

Infantry dressed partly in Highland manner, some carrying pointed shields, which might be spiked 'targes': a targe dated 1623 survives in Scotland, with an inscription identifying it with Donald Mackay. Allegorical flags display the arms of Saxony and Sweden, representing their alliance. (Facsimile after a 1631 broadside; British Library)



organised as described by Monro himself: captain, lieutenant, ensign, two sergeants, captain of arms, ensign's lieutenant, 'furrier', muster-clerk, three drummers, four muster-boys, six corporals, 15 rotmasters, 21 under-rotmasters, 78 common soldiers, and 14

passeevolants ('dead-pays').

Rolls of Mackay's regiment survive in the Stockholm war archives. They show that companies were frequently seriously under strength, even though Germans were sometimes recruited to fill the ranks (see table).

The regimental staff comprised: colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, two quartermasters, clerk, *Profians-meister*, two chaplains, court martial clerk and sergeant, four barber-surgeons, *Wagen-meister*, four provosts, drummer, three beadles . . . and a hangman!

Dress

Historians have often insisted that the colour names of the Swedish brigades apply only to scarves, ribbons or flags. A report from James Spens³⁰ in 1627 clearly contradicts this: '[Gustavus] hath coarse cloth made in his country; . . . with this he clothes his common soldiers, causing to dye it red, yellow, green and blue, which makes a great show in the field; and this was never done before this king's time'.

Gustavus introduced jackets or cassocks of uniform colour in the 1620s. Shortages of cloth, however, meant that

this 'uniform' was restricted to élite units — namely the principal regiments of the coloured brigades. Eyewitness accounts mention the superb appearance of the Swedish army during the German campaigns, so even non-coloured units must have been fairly well dressed.

It was customary to ship recruits overseas in their civilian clothes, so Highland dress would have been worn by many on arrival in Germany. A letter of 1627 from the chief of the McNaughtons, who had raised 100 bowmen for service abroad, mentions their 'bagpipes and marlit (multi-coloured) plaids', though he suggests preparation of 'clothes for the corps, for . . . they cannot muster before your Lordship in their plaids and blue caps'.³¹

'Highland' dress was not worn at this time outside the Scottish Highlands, though it appeared to an extent in Ireland. It was known as 'Irish' dress — probably then identical in meaning to the modern 'Gaelic' (though it would be interesting to hear other interpretations). 'Irish' dress was regarded by contemporaries even in Scotland as a sign of barbarity. Gustavus disliked his soldiers wearing peasant garb; and Lowland Scottish officers no doubt tried hard to re-equip their men with 'modern' clothes when these became available. Other Scots wore mainly plain hoddie grey (or grey-blue) cloth, while officers are usually depicted in fashionable European dress. A German pamphlet of 1631 also mentions 'Irish' officers in 'colourful pure silk clothing'.³²

Flags

Though many flags are known for German or Swedish regiments under British colonels, none can be ascribed with certainty to wholly British units. The Scots, at least, were not keen on giving up the 'auld blue blanket', though Monro notes that in the decoration of flags King Charles told them to 'obey the orders of him they served'.

The Swedish coloured regiments seem to have carried flags in the same colour as their coats.³³ In 1635 in Prussia, the French ambassador's secretary, Ogier,³⁴ saw a Scottish regiment in Swedish service with 'huge red flags, in the corner of which there is a white cross of St. Andrew on a blue field' — the design adopted by many British-based units by the Civil War.

**HAMILTON'S
'ENGLISH ARMY'**

One large expedition to Germany almost never arrived because Mackay accused its commander James, Marquis of Hamilton of plotting to use it to seize the throne. Even when it did arrive the 'English Army', like so many early Continental ventures by the British, was a disaster.

In May 1630 the Marquis of Hamilton received a general's commission from Gustavus to raise a force at his own expense. At first he could persuade only 400 Scotsmen to follow him, and even had difficulty in England, where King Charles authorised him to levy 'by beating of the drum or otherwise' the following regiments:³⁵ Sir Jacob Ashley (ten companies); Sir

James Hamilton³⁶ (13 coys.); Sir James Ramsay (eight coys.) — each 150-man company to be raised from a defined region of England and Wales.

Hamilton resorted to a very strict press 'upon which few or more except rogues or jail-birds were taken'³⁷ — so we may infer that his troops were far from the best quality.

Gustavus agreed to supply

Roll of Mackay's/Monro's* Regiment, late summer 1632 (*From 18 Aug. 1632 Monro, long in actual command, became colonel when Mackay resigned his commission.)						
Company commander	Officers	Corporals	Cotnamasters	Under-cotnamasters	Soldiers	Totals
Col. Robert Monro	14	4	10	13	52	98
Lt. Col. John Sinclair	14	7	9	12	48	86
Maj. William Stuart	14	4	6	10	40	74
Capt. David Monro	12	9	4	6	24	50
Capt. Patrick Innes	13	3	4	6	24	50
Capt. Lachmund Ross	16	3	—	10	40	76
Capt. George Hentles	11	3	3	6	28	51
TOTALS	94	24	43	63	264	

Below:
'Irishmen' landing in Stettin: the famous German broadside by Köler, 1631. Some apparently wear tartan recut in the style of soldier's dress. One flag bears the Swedish three crowns. In the background are bowmen skirmishing, and pikemen dressed apparently in cassocks. A caption reads: 'They are a strong, hardy race, contenting themselves with little food, if they have no bread they eat roots; if necessary, they are able to run 20 German miles [70 to 90 English miles!] in a day; they have besides muskets, their bows and quivers and long knives.'



James, 3rd Marquis (from 1643), 1st Duke of Hamilton (1606–49) From the ill-starred 'English Army' sent to Germany in 1631 until his beheading in 1649 he succeeded in little except getting into trouble. He wears very rich embroidered silver doublet and breeches, slashed white, grey-buff gloves and matching boots, and black hat. This 1629 painting by Daniel Mytens is regarded as the best pre-Van Dyck English portrait. (In collection of Duke of Hamilton; photo Tom Scott)



'370 ship pounds of Iron Ball for his guns & 2,500 Pikes and as many Musquets'. Other equipment came from the Tower Armouries.³⁸ The 5,000 men armed by Gustavus received: 'Swords, 5,000; belts to them 5,000; hand hatchets . . . 500'. One regiment which the Marquis equipped received: 'Muskets furnished with bandoliers, rests and moulds, 1,000; long piques, 500; corsellets without tassels [tassets], 500; swords to be repaired in a short time, 1,000; belts to them, 1,000.'

The Marquis's Lifeguard and artillery: 'Carabynes furnished with belts, swyveles, flasquets, rayds, moulds, worands and scourers, 300; barehides [?], 20; trace & horse harness for 12 sakers [a class of gun], viz for each piece 6 making together 72.'

The Lifeguard, of 300 men in two companies, included 40 noble attendants and 36 halberdiers (Hamilton was renowned for his airs of royalty); the carbines mentioned above suggest they may have been mounted.

The artillery was commanded by Alexander Hamilton, that 'dear Sandy' who, though often falsely credited with the invention of Swedish regimental artillery pieces (actually invented by the German Colonels Wurmbrandt and Siegroth), may well have developed the light guns called 'Sandy's stoups' or 'frames'. Interestingly, a German chronicler mentions that the Marquis's army brought with it 'many small artillery pieces, a new invention'.³⁹

Potentially more controversy surrounds the regiment of 'Scots' which 'Sandy' Hamilton commanded dur-

ing the expedition. It is likely that they are the 'Irishmen' portrayed in Köler's famous broadside. A pamphlet⁴⁰ printed shortly after Hamilton's landing specifically mentions 600 'Irishmen' as part of an English army of 10,000 that landed at Stettin. They may, in fact, have been true Irishmen: Mackay had tried early in 1631 to raise 3,500 men in Ireland ('an excellent idea, it will give some of the idle young men here something to do, we could spare twice as many'⁴¹); but this fell through because Gustavus did not trust the Irish. Nevertheless the Master of Forbes shipped 500

Irishmen to Glasgow in 1631, and these may have joined Hamilton's Scots.

Most sources say the 'English army' numbered in total 6,000 men, 'in complete arms, being well arraid'. They sailed from Yarmouth in 38 ships. The expedition was bungled from the start: rather than landing near Bremen, where the Marquis was to be met by German regiments under Hepburn and Alexander Leslie, he landed on 2 August 1631 at Wolgast; and shortly thereafter moved up the Oder River to Stettin, into a region devastated by earlier campaigns.

Provisions for the army

had been intercepted off Holland; and, with no prospect of living off the land in this stripped countryside, the force was soon ravaged by plague. By 21 August 936 men were already sick, and 200 were dying each week. By 13 December they could muster barely 800 men.

Initially, the landing came as a shock to the Imperialists: Tilly gave up blockading the Swedish camp at Werben, and went on to the defensive. But aside from a minor hand in operations in Silesia, the 'English Army' was given only support duties, mainly because Gustavus had little confidence in Hamilton. Disenchanted, Hamilton left for France in 1632.

The disaster seems to have been hushed up in England: one veteran of the expedition was imprisoned in Newgate for spreading stories of the quarrelling between the English and Scots, and of starving men 'calling "Bread, Bread!" in the instant of death'.⁴² Recent histories still report that the men died through over-eating the rich German food!

* * *

After Gustavus's death at Lützen in November 1632 the Swedish army went into decline. At Nördlingen in 1634 Monro's regiment was practically annihilated, and survivors were distributed among other regiments. Ogier noted the despicable state of the Swedish forces in 1635 — 'filthy, diseased, and totally in tatters and barefoot . . .' Even worse was his impression of the camp of the 'poorest of all the Scots, who are not protected from sun or rain by the shelter of branches and trees, shoddy and put together without any skill. They lie without any order, so that it was rather more like a cemetery than a camp.'

The Scots soldiers fighting for Sweden, in particular, were noted for their sickness and poverty. A vague folk-memory of this association of ideas seems to persist in Sweden even today; in fact, one Swedish cut-price supermarket chain even uses a Scotsman as trademark. MI

Source notes for Parts 1 ('MI' No. 4) and 2:

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- (2) *The Totall Discoveries* (Glasgow, 1906)
- (3) Bieganska, A., *Zolnierze Szkoccy* . . .; *Studia i mat. do hist. wojsk.* (SMHW), 27, 1984
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- (6) William Stewart became Captain of James VI's Guard; *Dic. Nat. Biog* 7 *Cal. State Papers, For.* 157–78, 595, Hoddesdon to Burghley.
- (8) Gdansk Archive: 300, 18/150
- (9) *Cal. SP, For.* 1575–7; Stewart to Burghley, 10 Oct 1575
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- (11) Archiwum Główny Akt Dawnych, (AGAD): AR V, 6123, Jordan to Radziwill
- (12) *ibid*
- (13) Piotrowski, Jan, *Dziennik wyprawy . . . 1581–82*, (Cracow, 1894)
- (14) Plewczynski, M., *Bitwa pod Byczyną*, SMHW, 17, 1
- (15) AGAD, ASK II 35
- (16) Teodorczyk, J., *Bitwa pod Gniewem*, SMHW, 12, II, p. 103
- (17) *Newes from Poland, the Turks formidable threatening of Europe*, (London, 1621)



John Chamberlain (1588–1642), painted in 1634 when a captain An officer of this name was in Hamilton's English army. He wears an officer's gorget, a slashed dark grey doublet with 'tassets' and points, matching breeches, and a gilded-silver Gustavus medallion with a black mourning ribbon (Photo: SPA)

- (18) Ossolinski, J., *A true copy of the Latine oration* . . ., (London, 1621)
- (19) Ossolinski, J., *Pamiętnik (Memoirs)*, (Warsaw, 1976)
- (20) See (4)
- (21) See (3)
- (22) Flag identified by Danielsson
- (23) *Dic. Nat. Biog*
- (24) 2 vols (London)
- (25) *Vestiarum Scoticum*, (1842); see: Dunbar, J. T., *The History of Highland Dress*, (Edinburgh, 1962)
- (26) Charles van Hultheim 1764–1832, (Bruxelles, 1964) p. 284
- (27) Fischer, Th. A., *The Scots in Germany*, (Edinburgh, 1902)
- (28) Mackay, J., *An Old Scots Brigade* . . ., (Edinburgh, 1885)
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- (30) Quoted by Chapman, *Gustavus Adolphus*, (London), 1856)
- (31) To Earl of Morton, quoted by Carman, W. Y., *British Military Uniforms*, (1957)
- (32) *Nochmalliche Bestattung kurtze Beschreibung der 600 Irren* (Bremen, 1631)
- (33) Bellander, E., *Dräkt och Uniform*, (Stockholm, 1973)
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- (35) Rushworth, John, *Historical Collections*, I, pt. 2, p. 53+ (London, 1680)
- (36) Namesake of the Marquis
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- (39) Chemnitz, B. P., *Königlichen Schwedischen . . . kriegs*, I, p. 192–3 (Stettin, 1648)
- (40) See (32)
- (41) *Cal. SP, Ireland*, Esmond to Dorchester, Dublin 20 June 1631
- (42) *Cal. SP, Dom.*, 1631–33, Christopher Crowe, 14 Dec. 1631
- (43) Turner, Sir James, *Pallas Armata* . . . (London, 1683)
- (44) Monro, II, 18 mentions these

Other sources include:

Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon . . . (Aberdeen, 1859)
 Finlayson, W. H., *Two Early Paintings of the Scots Brigade*; *Scot. Hist Rev.* 106
Sveriges Krig, 1611–1632, (Stockholm, 1936–9), 8 vols

Left:

James Scott, governor of Riga, colonel of Finnish infantry, employed in the late 1620s in Livonia and Prussia and in 1632 in Finland. He wears a buff-coat over red doublet and breeches sumptuously embroidered with gold lace, with decorative baldric and lace falling band. Painted in 1634, artist unknown. (Photo: SPA)



Interpreting Napoleonic Prints

PHILIP J. HAYTHORNTHWAITE

To the historian, and most especially to the uniform enthusiast, contemporary illustrations form the single most valuable source of information on the appearance of our military ancestors. Such illustrations fall into two categories: original works, and prints, of which the latter are by far the more common. The simple fact of a print's production during the period of the subject it depicts is not, however, a guarantee of its veracity. The ability to distinguish between an accurate print and one of dubious authenticity is to some degree a matter of experience; but even the tyro can pass reasonably informed judgement when in possession of a number of basic facts concerning the varieties of prints produced at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century.

PRODUCTION METHODS

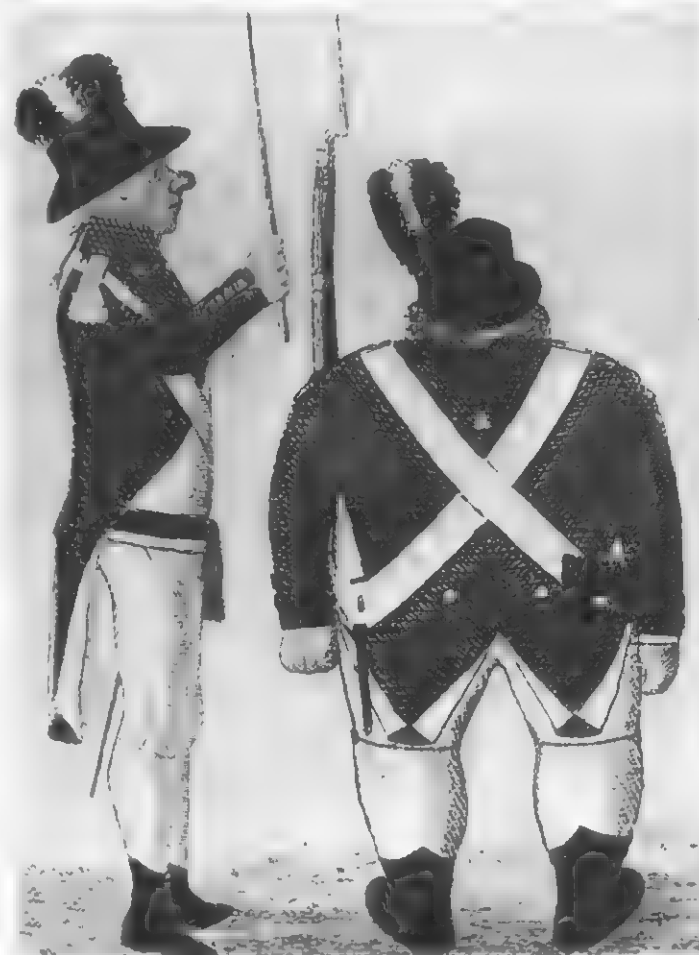
It is useful to understand the processes involved in the production of various types of print, if only as an aid to identification and date. Basically, a 'print' is any impression made from a metal plate, stone or wooden block, the terminology varying with the process involved.

Line engravings were produced by cutting an image with a sharp tool into a plate of copper (later steel), which was then coated with ink, wiped to leave ink only in the engraved lines, and clamped in a press upon a slightly damp sheet of paper, so that the ink was transferred from the engraved lines to the paper. At the edges of such

prints may sometimes be seen a 'plate-mark' or depression in the paper, the mark of the edge of the metal plate. *Stipple engraving* employed a similar technique but with dots instead of lines carved into the plate.

Etchings were produced by coating a copper engraving-plate with a wax film, scraping away the required design down to the metal and then immersing the plate in acid, which bit into the exposed copper to produce an image on the plate. *Mezzotinting*—a process reputedly invented by Prince Rupert of the Rhine—involved roughening the surface of a copper plate and then scraping away the roughened surface to produce lighter shades and white lines. *Aquatinting* was a variety of etching invented by J. B. Le Prince in 1768, involving the immersion in acid of a copper plate covered with powdered resin, the result giving delicate shading resembling a water-colour or wash drawing, hence the name.

Lithography, invented by Alois Senefelder in 1798, was a medium based upon the fact that water and greasy ink repel each other; a design



Above right:

Fig. 1: Sgt. Maj. Patrick Gould, Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, mezzotint by John Young after George Watson, 1794. The uniform was dark blue with scarlet facings and gold lace, white waistcoat and legwear, and a black 'round hat' with black and white feathers

Right:

Fig. 2: 'To the Right About-Face' Sgt. Maj. Patrick Gould (left) in an engraved cartoon by John Kay, 1797

drawn in a greasy medium, dampened and covered with ink (adhering only to the greasy design) will transfer the image onto a printing surface. Initially stone was used for printing, though zinc was the commonest alternative. Lithographs bear no plate-mark; and it was not until the Napoleonic Wars had ended that lithography became common, the various types of engraving being the almost universal medium. Similarly, woodcuts (made by drawing the design on a wooden block and carving away all except the lines to be printed) are rarely encountered with Napoleonic subjects.

COLOURING

The most important factor to be remembered concerns the colouring of prints. Virtually without exception, no 'colour prints' of the Napoleonic Wars were produced at the time; i.e. none were printed in colour, as colour printing for all practical purposes was unknown. Instead, what existed were *coloured* prints: engravings printed in black-and-white and then commercially hand-coloured for sale. Herein lies one of the pitfalls concerning all such prints: that the accuracy of colouring was dependent upon the journeyman colourist, not upon the artist or engraver. But this does not automatically disqualify the veracity of coloured prints; for when prints were offered for sale and could be compared for accuracy with uniforms which might be seen in the streets of any European city, it is obvious that considerable care would have been taken to ensure that the colourist made no errors.

He would usually be given a sample print to copy, coloured by the artist or under the artist's instruction. Colouring of prints requires some skill — some are in themselves truly works of art — but as in most cases the shading is already present as etched lines, it often involved no more than applying a single wash of transparent water-colour, thus taking so



little time as to render it a commercial proposition. Most coloured prints of this era are competently coloured; those which are crudely executed may, in fact, be cases of later or amateur colouring, of little historic value.

Portraits

Military prints of this period may be divided into three basic subject types: portraits, uniform studies, and battle scenes.

Portraits of named individuals were very popular, especially those of famous heroes, whose image would enjoy wide commercial appeal — though prints of lesser-known soldiers were produced in smaller numbers, sometimes by subscrip-

tion, as mementoes for persons who knew the subject or his relations, or as examples of the work of a renowned painter. Portrait-prints were almost invariably copied from oil paintings taken from life, and thus are as accurate as the original; they are the most reliable military prints ever produced.

One of the finest examples is reproduced here (Fig. 1): Sgt. Maj. Patrick Gould of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, a mezzotint by John Young after a painting by George Watson, 1794. Another depiction of this noted Edinburgh drill-sergeant (who as a reward for his services was permitted to wear his uniform ever afterwards, a singular distinction) is shown in Fig. 2: 'To the



Left:

Fig. 3: Flanqueur of the French Imperial Guard, an engraving by Pierre Marinet; and Fig. 3a (above), an alternative 'state' of the same print

Right About-Face', an engraved cartoon by John Kay dated 1797. A comparison with the Watson portrait establishes the Kay version as having equal accuracy in the depiction of the uniform (note the removal by this date of the hat-crest), illustrating perfectly the point that accuracy of uniform-depiction is not necessarily dependent upon artistic finesse — crudely drawn illustrations by eye-witnesses may well depict uniform detail as accurately as immaculate oil portraits.

Uniform prints

In the majority of uniform prints *per se* the uniform aspect was of primary importance, and generally, such uniform studies have a high degree of accuracy. Exceptions do occur, however, especially when the subject is an army foreign to the artist — e.g. the foreign uniforms shown in Goddard & Booth's *Military Costume of Europe*, published 1812–22, which should be approached with circumspection. In uniform prints accuracy of detail takes precedence over artistic appearance, though frequently the two are combined in such series as Charles Hamilton Smith's *Costume of the Army of the British Empire* (1812); while Edward Dayes' series of uniform studies of British Foot Guards and infantry published in 1792–93 are masterpieces of the first order.

(NB: 'Remote' caption placing for easy reference to right-hand plate)

Colour captions, p. 41:

Plate D: Grenadier sergeant, 2nd (Coldstream) Foot Guards, 1792, engraving by T. Kirk after Edward Dayes. The Dayes' series are among the finest military prints of all time

Plate F: Sapeur of the French Garde Nationale, c. 1814, illustrative of the best and most accurate of French popular prints

Plate G: Private, Prussian Foot Guards, 1814. A French popular print which again demonstrates the accuracy of many of these; in this case it can be dated precisely, as it illustrates the so-called 'liberation brassard', a white band tied around the arm as a way of identifying all Allied soldiers, whose many and varied uniforms had led to considerable confusion in action

Print 'states'

The ever-changing minutiae of military uniforms throughout the period resulted in a peculiar feature known as the 'states' of a print, by which a detail of uniform would be altered on the engraving-plate to bring the uniform shown up to date with the latest regulations. Where the change of uniform was not dramatic this was achieved easily; in other cases the entire design might be re-drawn and improved.

A classic example is that shown in Figs. 3 and 3a, Pierre Martinet's print of a *Flanqueur* of the French Imperial Guard, which exists in two states or varieties: identical poses but one showing a spherical pompon on the shako, and the other a mushroom-shaped plume. Such variations in designs did not always necessitate the re-engraving of the plate; for example, a number of Martinet's prints were suitable for use to represent a number of different regiments, according to the colouring. Figs. 4 and 5 show Martinet's version of the uniform of the *Tirailleurs-Grenadiers* of the Imperial Guard, with colour variations in the plume, shako cords, lapels and turn-backs (though one of these varieties may represent a colourist's error!).

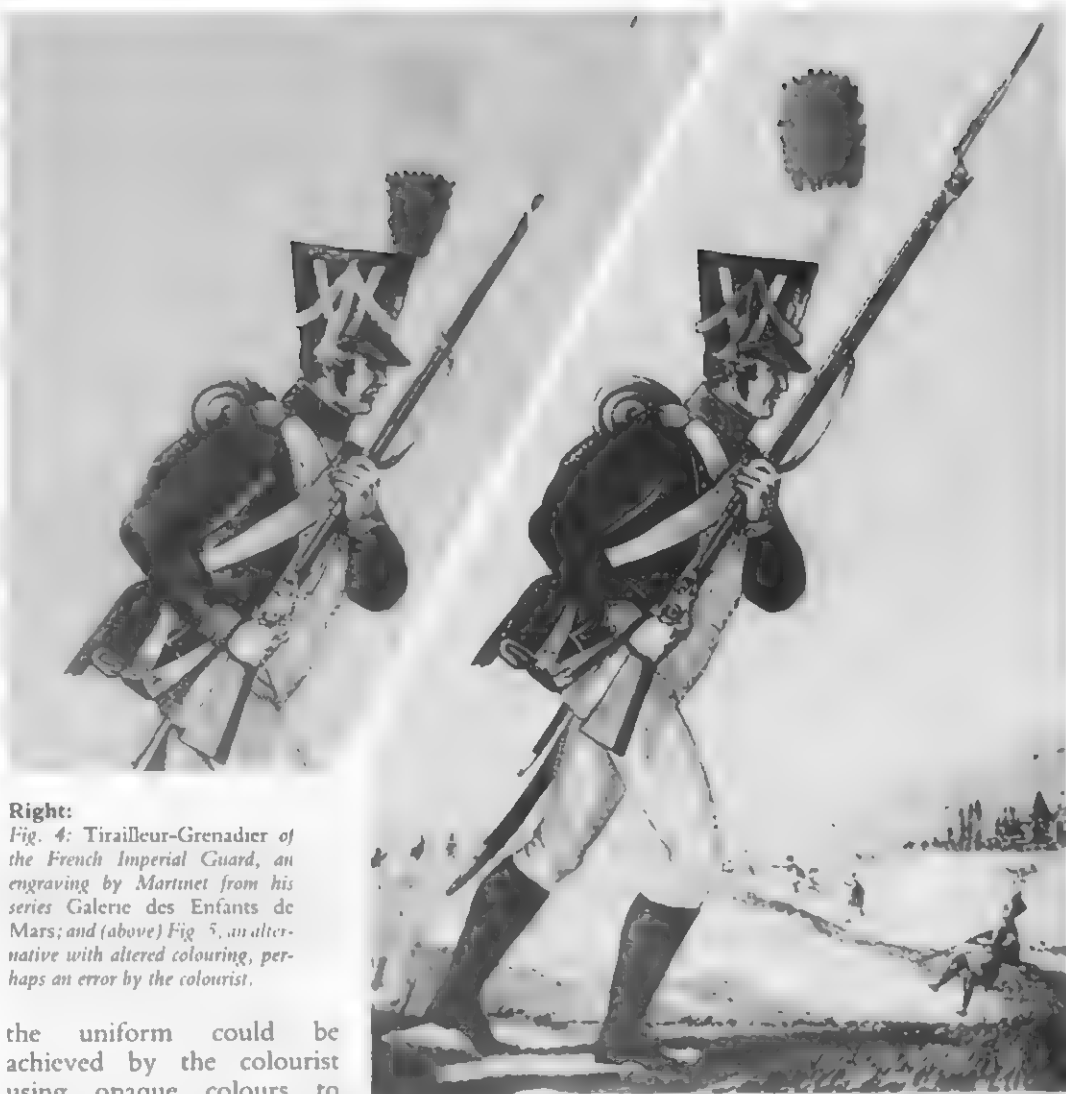
Even greater alteration in

Right:

Fig. 4: *Tirailleur-Grenadier* of the French Imperial Guard, an engraving by Martinet from his series *Galerie des Enfants de Mars*; and (above) Fig. 5, an alternative with altered colouring, perhaps an error by the colourist.

the uniform could be achieved by the colourist using opaque colours to obscure some of the engraved designs; for example, Martinet's plate of the 2nd (Dutch) Lancers of the Imperial Guard was originally that used for the 1st (Polish) Lancers, with the Polish shabraque-eagle obscured by opaque paint (but incorrectly leaving the Polish cross visible on the cockade); while prints like the Martinet *Garde d'Honneur* of the Imperial Guard were printed with a blank in the title, '— Régiment', for the regimental number to be added by the colourist in accordance with the colour-scheme he had applied. A better example even than this might be the series known as the *'British Military Library'*, a set of 29 engravings published by J. Carpenter of London in 1799–1801, which may be found with varieties covering the uniforms of almost 80 regiments.

More radical changes might be made in the improved state of a print.



Figs. 6 and 7 are examples, being two versions of three known to exist of Plate 7 of Thomas Rowlandson's *Loyal Volunteers of London and Environs* (1798–99). While slight, intriguing variations of colouring are known in this series — for example, did the Billingsgate Association really change their wings from red to blue or is one version an error by Rowlandson's colourist? — several prints were re-drawn more than once. Fig. 6 shows what is probably the first version, featuring a remarkably lumpish St. Clement Danes' Volunteer; when the print was re-drawn to show the addition of a coloured plume, the opportunity was taken to transform the man into the more elegant figure in Fig. 7. (A third version had to be produced to alter the long gaiters to ankle-length light infantry style.)

Having praised the overall standard of accuracy of those

prints designed specifically as depictions of a uniform, we should make some mention of those which are inaccurate. 'Inaccuracy' covers a multitude of factors, from sheer bad observation to more subtle and interesting distortions.

Generally, the most unreliable of all uniform prints of this era are those published in Paris during the Allied occupations of 1814 and 1815–16: popular prints produced in great haste and profusion, sometimes negligently coloured. In many cases all that these provide is an 'impression' of how the Allied troops appeared to the French; all finer details were too complex for the colourist to attempt to master, and the intricacies of uniform too time-consuming for either the artist or engraver. The result is a quaint conversation-piece of little documentary significance.

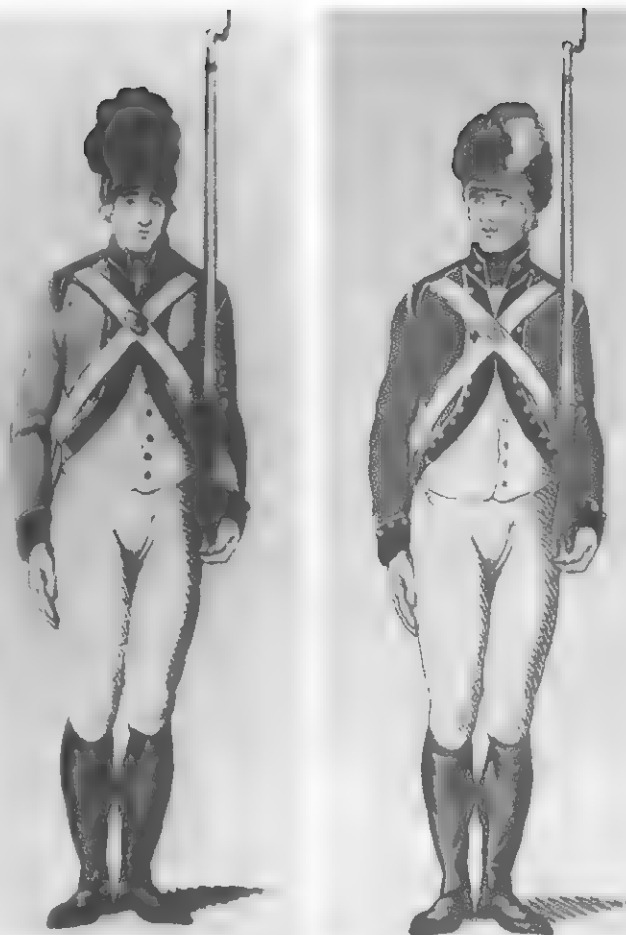
Even here, though,

examples may be found of spectacular accuracy, such as Fig. 8 and Plate A, engravings produced *chez Genty* in Paris in 1815. Produced half-coloured (indeed, sometimes only faintly tinted), these prints show very reasonable representations of the uniforms of the 3rd Foot Guards and 5th Foot. In both cases they include the designs painted on to the rear of the knapsack, which is information only very rarely shown in more 'accurate' illustrations; so that these may be regarded as very close indeed to the actual appearance of the regiments concerned.

What appears an obvious error in the plate of the 5th Foot — the large size of the plume, quite different from the worsted tuft authorised — in fact only serves to emphasize the inherent accuracy of the print. Regimental Inspection Returns of 1813 note that, contrary to regulations and almost uniquely among British infantry regiments, this corps wore feather plumes instead of tufts — doubtless provided at regimental expense, and probably commemorating the capture of French grenadier caps at Wilhelmstahl in June 1762, which the 5th wore themselves as trophies.

Battle prints

Other 'inaccuracies' are more subtle, and require a degree of detection to reveal the whole story. Battle prints in general, of all contemporary productions, are often the least significant from a uniform angle, as the main purpose is to show a battle, complete with smoke, confusion, masses of troops and not infrequently inaccurate enemy uniforms (few battle-painters having seen the enemy's costume for themselves). For example, after Waterloo the 'Red' Lancers of the French Imperial Guard were familiar to most British artists; thus any battle-print requiring a French lancer almost invariably has a 'Red' Lancer in it, irrespective of that unit's actual presence or absence. What *are* significant to the



Far left:

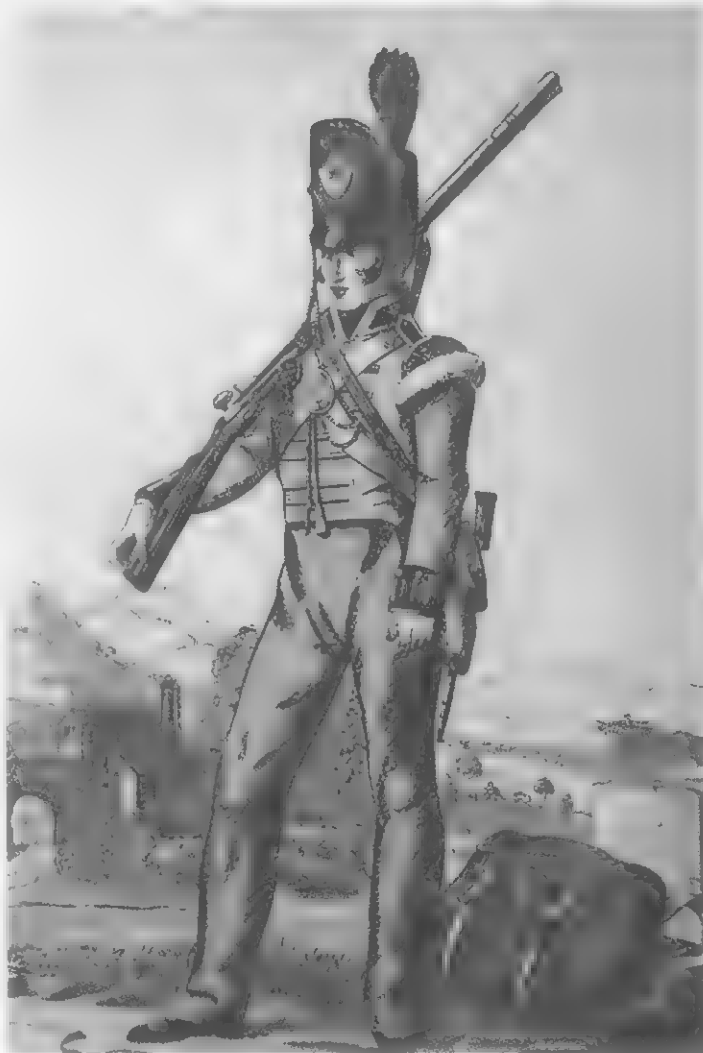
Fig. 6: The first version of Plate 7 of Thomas Rowlandson's *Loyal Volunteers of London & Environs (1798-99)*: a private of the St. Clement Danes' Association

Left:

Fig. 7: The second version of the St. Clement Danes' Association print, with an added plume, and a figure altogether more elegant than the original.

Below:

Fig. 8: Private, Light Company, 5th (Northumberland) Regt., 1815; a tinted engraving published *chez Genty* in Paris. The apparent inaccuracy of the large plume only serves, in fact, to lend credibility after further investigation see text



uniform historian, however, are 'eye-witness' scenes of campaigning, such as the aquatints by C. Turner after Capt. Thomas St. Clair, who served in the Peninsular War. Although the figures in these prints are small they often reveal interesting details of campaign dress otherwise unrecorded.

Plate C provides an example of one of the more subtle types of 'inaccuracy'; entitled 'A Corporal of the 13th Light Dragoons Killing a French Colonel', by M. Dubourg after Denis Dighton, it depicts Cpl. Logan of the 13th engaged in single combat with the commander of the French 26th Dragoons, Col. Chamorin, in the action at Campo Mayor in 1811. The print, from an original by one of the most reliable of contemporary artists (Dighton had actually spent time in the Peninsula during the war), was published in 1818; and there lies the secret of its 'inaccuracy'. Logan's uniform (even to the oilskin foul-weather cover on the shako) would be perfectly accurate — if the action had taken place after the introduction of the 1812 regulation uniform. In fact, the 13th at Campo Mayor would have worn the previous style, of braided dolman and 'Tarleton' helmet. The print is thus curiously both accurate and inaccurate: the uniform is rendered correctly, but for a

continued on p. 42



A



E



B



C



D

F

G



Right:

Fig. 9: Sgt. Patrick Masterson of the 87th (Prince of Wales' Irish) Regt., capturing the Eagle of the French 8^{me} Ligne at Barossa; the earliest and most accurate version, drawn and published by Denis Dighton within two months of the event

Far right:

Fig. 10: Charles Hamilton Smith's version of the capture of the Barossa Eagle, showing Masterson and his regiment wearing the 1812 shako an accurate uniform, but not for the date of the action. The chevrons are discussed in the text

Below:

Fig. 11: The Clark & Dubourg print of the combat between Sgt Masterson and the French Eagle-bearer, S/Lt Edmé Guillemain, published two years later than the Hamilton Smith version, but more accurate in depicting the earlier 'stovepipe' shako

continued from p. 39

year later than the incident depicted. An even greater curiosity is the fact that the most obvious 'error' — Chamorin's red trousers, which the French army did not adopt until a later date — is in fact no error at all; for many French cavalrymen in the Peninsula adopted baggy non-regulation overalls (similar to the Arab *saroual* so popular later in the century) of various shades of red or brown local cloth, to replace their worn-out regulation legwear.

Figs. 9 to 11 illustrate a similar case, all prints showing the capture of the Eagle of the French 8th Line Regt. at Barossa in 1811 by Sgt. Patrick Masterson of the British 87th Foot. The incident itself offers interest enough: for example, the 8th endeavoured to conceal the capture from their own War Ministry, stating the Eagle to have been destroyed by a cannonball; and the incident laid the foundation of the Masterson family's prosperity, a descendant being the Maj. J. E. I. Masterson who won a Victoria Cross for the Devonshire Regiment in the Boer War. The three depictions of the action, all produced within four years of the incident, exemplify a range of interesting features.

Fig. 9 was drawn and pub-



lished by Denis Dighton in May 1811 (only some two months after the battle, while the subject was fresh in the public mind). It is the most accurate of the three, showing Masterson correctly accoutred, even though his one-piece gaiter-trousers might well have been replaced by loose overalls at this period.

Fig. 10 is Charles Hamilton Smith's version, published in

January 1813; again it shows the Eagle-bearer, *Sous-Lieutenant* Edmé Guillemain, lying dead at Masterson's feet; but this time the 87th are shown in the uniform current at the time of the print's publication, including the 'Belgic' shako authorised in 1812 — again, a uniform correct for a date later than that of the incident it depicts. The third version of the action (Fig. 11) was one of a series of battle-

scenes by Clark and Dubourg, published in 1815; altogether more hectic, it is alone of the three in showing (right foreground) the body of Ensign Edward Keogh, killed trying to capture the Eagle, while Masterson struggles violently with Guillemain. Uniforms are accurate (note the correct 'stovepipe' shako of the 87th, and the baggy, pink-brown French trousers), though the French shako-lace is probably in error.

A final point relates to the strange depiction of rank-chevrons in the Hamilton Smith version, with the point up instead of down. This is probably an error by the artist — it is not impossible, though unlikely, that it shows a hitherto unrecorded regimental variation — yet is of interest in showing how one artist would copy from another. In Baron Lejeune's painting *The Battle of Chiclana* (the French name for Barossa), in the foreground is a British sergeant (not wearing the green facings of the 87th, it is true) but with the Belgic

shako and the eccentric point-up chevrons. The coincidence is surely too great; Lejeune must have required an 'authentic' print on which to base the British uniforms in his painting, and used as a reference a print by the artist normally regarded as the most accurate source for British uniforms, Hamilton Smith. He could not know that the chevrons probably represent one of Hamilton Smith's rare errors, nor that the shako was actually not introduced until the year after the event it depicts.

(Confusions over the Belgic shako are not uncommon, and though not strictly appropriate to an article concerning prints contemporaneous with the events they depict, it is worth mentioning the *caveat* regarding the battle paintings of the popular Victorian artist Richard Simkin, which decorate many Messes and regimental museums. Simkin habitually painted his British Napoleonic infantry wearing the Belgic cap, even for actions fought years before its introduction. It is especially ironic that Elizabeth Butler's famous painting *Quatre Bras*, which does show the infantry uniform of 1815 correctly, including the Belgic shako, in fact illustrates the only Line regiment in the entire army — 28th Foot — which never adopted the pattern, but retained the earlier 'stovepipe'.)

made in a print, it was likely to be repeated if the plate were copied by another artist. Plate B is an example: published in George Walker's *Costume of Yorkshire* (London & Leeds, 1814), it is an engraving by R. & D. Havell after Walker, dated 1 February 1814 and depicting a grenadier of the 1st West York Militia. The uniform is portrayed accurately, but note the left cuff: by an artist's oversight, the buttons are mistakenly shown near the bottom of the cuff instead of on the upper edge.

As uniforms of many regiments followed a similar basic pattern, the same print might be used with altered

colouring to depict another corps (as in the Martinet cases noted above); thus Walker's grenadier may be found re-titled to represent the 66th Foot. But when copied by another artist, even obvious errors might not be corrected, as Fig. 12 shows. In this plate from *Historical Records of the Second Royal Surrey* (J. Davis, London 1877), both figures are copied directly from Walker, the grenadier even having the buttons in the wrong place as on the original.

Similarly misleading can be modern captions to contemporary prints which are often reproduced in books and articles. Whereas even some contemporary captions are ambiguous, the uniform enthusiast can easily be led astray by misuse of contemporary material. A classic case is found in the fine history *The Royal Manx Fencibles* (B. E. Sargeant, Aldershot 1947), which reproduces plates of 'Types of Uniform' which the reader would suppose illustrated the costume of the corps about which the book was written. In fact, though no explanation is given, the prints actually show units as diverse as the 2nd and 3rd Foot Guards and the Royal Lancashire Militia, being taken from Edmund Scott's *Manual Exercise*, a series of stipple engravings published in 1797. An accurate print with a wrong caption is almost as useless as an inaccurate print, unless the researcher is sufficiently expert to recognise the print without needing to refer to a caption.

IDENTIFYING PRINTS

By artistic convention, the identity of artists, engravers, etc. was usually recorded by means of an abbreviated Latin inscription; thus a few lines, once deciphered, provide the researcher with all the information he requires to identify the print. The commonest include *caelavit, inc. (incidit), sc. or sculp. (sculpsit)*, all signifying 'engraved'; *del. or delin. (delineavit or delineator)*, meaning 'drew' or 'draughts-

man'; *fec. or f. (fecit)*, 'engraved' or 'etched'; *composuit, 'designed'*; *excudit or pub., 'published'*; and *pinx. (pinxit), 'painted'*. Thus an inscription 'aquat. F. C. Lewis, eng. Meyer, del. Jas. Green, pub. John Wallis Jun.' describes one of Wallis's London Volunteers series of 1801–04, a drawing by Green, engraved by Meyer, aquatinted by Lewis and published by Wallis.

This article may cause the amateur uniform-researcher to doubt what he had hitherto regarded as infallible sources, and to call into question the entire range of contemporary illustrated material. But take heart; experience can be acquired without pain, and although no comparable catalogue for European prints exists, the *Index to British Military Costume Prints 1500–1914* (London, 1972) is an invaluable guide; while an introduction to the technical aspects is contained in two publications by the British Museum, *Looking at Prints: a Guide to Technical Terms* (P. Goldman, 1981), and *Prints and Printmaking* (A. Griffiths, 1980). MI

Colour captions, p. 40:

Plate A: Grenadier of the 3rd (Scots) Foot Guards, 1815; an engraving published chez Genty in Paris, and lightly tinted. A remarkably accurate example of a French popular print; note the design on the rear of the knapsack.

Plate B: Grenadier of the 1st West York Militia; engraving by R. & D. Havell after George Walker, dated February 1814. An accurate depiction, apart from the error in the position of the buttons on the left cuff.

Plate C: 'A Corporal of the 13th Light Dragoons Killing a French Colonel'; engraving by M. Dubourg after Denis Dighton, showing the duel between Cpl. Logan and Col. Chamorin at Campo Major. Logan's uniform is 'accurate' — but for a date significantly later than that of the action depicted.

Plate E: Gunners of the Royal Foot Artillery, 1815; aquatint by I. C. Stadler after Charles Hamilton Smith, from the latter's *Costume of the Army of the British Empire*.

Fig. 12: A print purporting to show the uniform of the 2nd Surrey Militia, from Davis's regimental history (1877), but in fact copied directly from Walker's *Costume of Yorkshire*, even to the error on the left cuff, as shown in Plate B.



'William Marshal: the Flower of Chivalry' by Georges Duby; Faber & Faber; 155 pp; biblio; £9.95

Georges Duby is a respected historian who has published a number of works concerned with medieval life. Here he turns his attention to a poem about William Marshal, commissioned by the latter's son in the early 13th century.

William Marshal's life spanned more than 70 years, during which he rose from relative obscurity (his position as a younger son offered little prospect of paternal inheritance) to become Earl of Pembroke. The book traces the career of this remarkable man, who used his military skills to win ransoms and renown in many tournaments, and manipulated family ties to gain employment at court. He became tutor to the son of Henry II; but the boy's death, and the spite of rivals, temporarily curtailed his advancement. He was nearly 50 when he finally received the hand of an heiress, and the landed security which it brought with it.

The author describes the Marshal's skill at arms, but the book contains much more. As the story unfolds we are treated to an insight into the world of the feudal warrior in its many facets: the relationship of the sons of knights with their parents; the bonds between lord and vassal; the attitude towards women and courtly love; the desire for honour — even the earl's deathbed scene, with which the book opens, reveals that a certain code of behaviour was expected. The author skilfully weaves snippets of information into the main narrative, illuminating a view of chivalry which is essentially masculine.

The book sets out to paint a three-dimensional portrait of the knightly class in the 12th and early 13th centuries. It does so at the expense of purely military detail, however, and those seeking much material on strategy and tactics will be disappointed. For its size it is not particularly cheap, given the lack of illustrations. The translation from the French original seems to this reviewer a trifle awkward in places, but the text is largely presented in colloquial style. It is a well-researched and solid book, which will provide stimulating reading for those keen to immerse themselves in the milieu of the medieval knight. **CG**

'The Road to Kabul: The Second Afghan War, 1878-81' by Brian Robson; Arms & Armour Press; 312 pp, 16 pp of illus., 14 maps; appendices; biblio; index; £19.95
A major preoccupation of British foreign and military policy in the last century was the possible threat to India posed by Russian expansion in Central Asia. British and Indian troops were twice sent across the North-West Frontier into Afghanistan, not with a view to

occupying that country, as Soviet Russia has done, but to ensure that its ruler was favourably disposed to the Queen of England rather than to the Tsar of Russia. Certainly no Cossacks ever emerged from the frontier passes, if indeed the Tsar ever intended that they should; and following both campaigns the Afghan throne was held by Amirs who, while retaining their independence, remained on good terms with Britain. But in neither case was the outcome that which had been intended originally, and both invasions cost Britain and India dear in blood and treasure.

The two Afghan Wars have been treated in at least three books over the past seven years; but this is the first full-length, detailed account of the political and military events of the second since Hanna's work published some 70 years ago. It is therefore valuable — although the author's claim that the war is virtually unknown today seems debatable: surely most people with an interest in military history have heard of the Guides' great stand at the Kabul Residency, of the disastrous battle of Maiwand, and of Roberts's famous march from Kabul to Kandahar, to name but three incidents of the war. That said, the book is admirably researched and, despite some 300 pages of fairly small print, very readable — even compelling, for those with an interest in the period.

Mr Robson displays the ability to assemble and present his often complex material in the lucid manner to be expected of one who until recently was a senior Civil Servant in the Ministry of Defence, and also the author of a helpful reference book on British Military Swords. The maps leave something to be desired though this defect, familiar in books of this sort, can often be attributed to the publisher's cost-cutting rather than to the author. There are 37 monochrome illustrations, none of which told this reviewer anything new, but which are adequate for the newcomer to the subject.

The text is diligently annotated, with a select but extensive bibliography, and concludes with six appendices containing useful information on Afghan rulers, biographical details of commanders and officials, regiments involved, medals, casualties, and some general remarks on uniforms (which omit anything on equipment). Since the troops faced both Afghan regulars and tribal irregulars something on the minor tactics employed, at battalion level and below, would have been of interest; and we are offered little of the ordinary soldiers' view of Afghan campaigning. All in all, however, a well-written and most useful book; but not, at nearly £20, a cheap one. **MJB**

'Elite Unit Insignia of the Vietnam War: An Illustrated Reference Guide for Collectors' by Leroy Thompson; Arms & Armour Press; 68 pp; 245 mono photos; £6.95

In the beginning, collecting military insignia was a relatively simple and inexpensive pastime. Badges and cloth insignia were to be found in junk and surplus shops at a minimal price. If you were one of the very few interested in the Vietnam War, your task was greatly simplified: any returning veteran was only too happy to give you his uniform and insignia. As the hobby grew and collectors became more sophisticated they were no longer satisfied with ordinary insignia, and began contacting collectors stationed with the US Forces in Vietnam, asking them to provide elusive and highly-prized elite unit insignia (Special Forces, LRRPs, SEALs, etc.), made only in tiny quantities and rarely disposed of by their owners.

Now, the difference between a patch made by a Montagnard needlewoman for an American SF soldier, and one made for sale to collectors by a tailorshop in Saigon, is not readily discernible. During the late 1960s and early '70s great numbers of these spurious pieces found their way into the hands of US collectors. These are now accepted as perfectly genuine, as they are, undeniably, 'made in Vietnam'. Since the fall of Vietnam in May 1975 literally thousands of reproduction and fantasy patches and badges have been manufactured in South America, Korea, Pakistan, Taiwan, Thailand, and even in the United States. For the most part these later pieces have proved just as saleable as the original Vietnam-made fakes.

Since nearly everything now on offer in the collectors' market is reproduction, it is a pity that Leroy Thompson did not turn to his veteran contacts — who are said to be extensive — and request the loan of genuine items to illustrate this book. Two hundred and forty-five pieces of insignia are reproduced here in handsome black-and-white photography, with colour-note captions. Unfortunately, this reviewer believes that only 60 of these are undoubtedly genuine; and 22 of those 60 are extremely ordinary items, manufactured in the USA and commonly available. This book does nothing to help the struggling collector in separating fact from fiction, especially the collector outside the USA: if anything, rather the reverse. The price guide included in the book is of little help, either: prices shown are too high for reproductions, and too low for genuine pieces, most of which are inaccessibly locked away in old collections.

The reviewer cannot recommend this book, except perhaps as a guide to the booming reproduction market and the inventive genius of unscrupulous militaria dealers. **MAM**

'La Garde Impériale Russe, 1896-1914' by Gerard Gorokhoff and Patrick de Gmeline; Charles-Lavauzelle, Paris; 347 pp; 8 pp col.; approx. 500 mono illus.; French text; available Photobook Information Services, address p. 3 this magazine under 'UK hobby distribution', at £49.95

This handsomely produced book, the work of two Frenchmen of Russian ancestry, one an historian and the other a collector of Russian militaria, is devoted to the history, organisation, traditions and uniforms of the two cavalry and three infantry divisions which, together with supporting units, made up the Imperial Guard during the reign of Nicholas II, last Tsar of Russia.

The bulk consists of 41 regimental and unit sections, each having a title page showing the unit badge; a brief history of the unit in the period under consideration; and several pages of monochrome photographs of varying quality — either portraits of officers and other ranks, or scenes of regimental life in peace and war.

Some regiments are better documented than others; and in the case of the Finlandski regiment the authors have chosen to concentrate on life at the front during the First World War, having uncovered an excellent collection of relevant photographs. The interest, and in some cases the poignancy of such photographs, many previously unpublished, are undeniable; and together they give a sweeping panorama of the life of the Russian Guardsman on the parade grounds of St. Petersburg and in the mud of East Prussia.

The coloured illustrations are devoted to Imperial portraits, detailed photographs of regimental standards, badges, and items of uniform; and to a series of contemporary chromo-lithographs showing officers and men of many regiments.

The four self-declared aims of the authors — to pay homage to the memory of the Guard; to bring its history and traditions to the notice of a wider public; to provide collectors with documentation not easily obtained; and to preserve the 'fragile witness' of old family photographs — have all been achieved faithfully and successfully. Anyone who is interested either in the Imperial Russian Army, or in period photographs in general, should not hesitate to take advantage of the scholarship and good taste provided by our Continental neighbours. **JM**

Due to our long production-cycle as a bi-monthly magazine, and also to our fixed policy of putting review copies out to genuine experts in the relevant subjects, delays in publishing reviews are inevitable. We hope that publishers and readers alike will be patient, in the interests of obtaining a serious review rather than a précis of the jacket-blurb. **MI**

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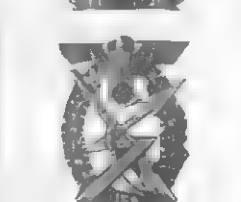
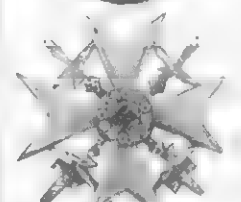
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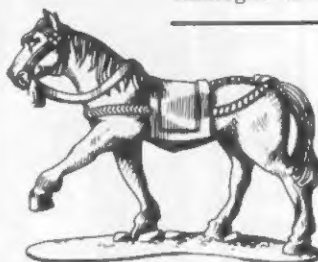
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Sir Richard Gale

MICHAEL CHAPPELL

In an army as conservative as that of Great Britain, few men can be said to have had the opportunity to pioneer tactical concepts in both World Wars. Richard Gale was undoubtedly a member of this exclusive group. As a junior officer in the Machine Gun Corps, he survived the years of bloody warfare from 1916 onwards to experience the growth of his Corps, the development of machine gun tactics, and the terrible part that weapon came to play in the dominance of Great War battlefields. In the Second World War he left conventional soldiering to become a leader of Britain's venture in airborne warfare, commanding the first brigade of parachute troops to be raised, and later leading 6th Airborne Division in the invasion of Normandy. As deputy commander of the US 18th Airborne Corps Gale was involved in the last great airborne operation in Europe,

the crossing of the Rhine.

Richard Nelson Gale was born in London in 1896, and was taken to Australia as an infant. He spent the next ten years of his boyhood in that country and in New Zealand before returning to England. He left Aldenham School in 1913 to work as a clerk in the City of London, but the outbreak of war in August 1914 revived earlier ambitions to gain the King's Commission.

The 18-year-old future general was below the physical standards laid down at the time; but he eventually gained a place at Sandhurst in the summer of 1915. He passed out and was commissioned into the Worcestershire Regiment in December 1915. In March 1916 Gale volunteered (by mistake!) into the Machine Gun Corps, to find himself posted to the 164th Machine Gun Company of the 55th

West Lancashire Division — a Territorial Force First Line formation — in the late summer of 1916. He joined his new unit on the Somme sector of the Western Front in time to take part in the battle for Gueudecourt, in which both the potential of the tank and the uselessness of horsed cavalry impressed themselves on the mind of the future airborne leader.

From the Somme the 20-year-old Gale moved with his division to the Ypres Salient, where he experienced the dreadful winter of 1916–17, during which he witnessed at least two of his men frozen to death, and survived himself to take part in the assault on Wyttschaete Ridge on 7 June 1917.

Sickness kept him in the United Kingdom after a leave at the end of June; and it was not until January 1918 that Lt. Gale managed to get back to France, being posted to the 126th Machine Gun Company of the 42nd East Lancashire Division — another Territorial Force First Line formation. When the Germans launched their offensive on the Somme on 21 March 1918 the 42nd Division was 'bussed' south to meet the threat and to help restore the

crumbling front of the British 5th Army. Here Gale witnessed the horrors of retreat and panic, while fighting a containing action to stem the last great enemy offensive of the war.

In retrospect he recorded that in the German Storm Battalions of 1918 he felt he saw the forerunners of the Airborne and Commando troops of the Second World War. He stated in his autobiography that the British Army of the time were reluctant to recognise any idea of specialist troops, but that he had always felt that they had an important part to play in war. He pointed out that the British Army had been shown the way by Sir John Moore's Peninsular War light troops, but that military conservatism had prevented the development of the experiment after 1815.

With the containment of the German offensive the Allies began to press forward on the Western Front, and Gale experienced the handling of machine guns in open warfare as the Germans fell back in the late summer and autumn of 1918. At the time of the Armistice he was a captain commanding a machine gun company, and a recipient of the Military Cross.

INTER-WAR SERVICE

In 1919 Gale sailed for India with the 12th Bn. of the Machine Gun Corps. After active service on the Afghanistan frontier he found himself — on the disbandment of the Machine Gun Corps — posted to the 3rd Worcesters, before taking up an appointment at the Machine Gun School at Ahmednagar. He remained there for five years before joining the 1st Worcesters at Allahabad in 1928. There followed two years at the Staff College at Quetta, after which Gale joined a battalion of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, a regiment in which he had been granted accelerated promotion. A series of staff appointments followed after which, in 1936, Gale returned to England. He was 40 years

Maj. Gen. Gale, commanding the 6th Airborne Division; Normandy, June 1944. He chose an odd but comfortable outfit for the airborne invasion of Normandy. A keen horseman as a young man, he wore fawn jodhpur riding breeches in case he might have to resort to commandeered Norman horseflesh as an aid to mobility! More conventional are the battledress blouse, and the Denison smock — the latter in the modified officer's version with a full-length zip and pale fawn knit cuffs and collar lining.

The operations of Gale's division in the early battles of the liberation of Europe were a model of what could be achieved by properly handled airborne troops, even in the face of considerable difficulties. His firm grasp of the complementary abilities of paratroops and glider troops paid dividends; and his long-standing friendship with Air Vice-Marshal Hollingworth, the AOC of No. 38 Group RAF, ensured smooth co-operation between the division and the 'lift' element assigned to them. (Courtesy Airborne Forces Museum)



old, still a captain, and recorded at the time that he was supremely happy in his profession.

In the United Kingdom Gale joined the 2nd Bn. of the DCLI, to be shocked by the lack of equipment, manpower and realistic tactical doctrine of the Army at home. A year later he was posted to a Staff appointment at the War Office, to become GSO II in the section responsible for the War Plan. At the outbreak of war in 1939 he was to see the plans he had helped formulate put into practice as the second British Expeditionary Force began to move to France on 4 September. After involvement in the planning of the abortive expedition to Norway, Lt. Col. Gale took over command of the 2nd/5th Bn. the Leicestershire Regiment in January 1941.

PARACHUTE GENERAL

Nine months later he was promoted brigadier, with orders to form 'a brigade of parachutists'. The nucleus of this new formation was to be a unit already in existence, the 11th Special Air Service Battalion. This became the 1st Parachute Bn. in Gale's new 1st Parachute Brigade. He stamped his personality on the brigade from the first, and displayed remarkable powers of leadership and of training. (It is not many men who could begin their first address to the officers of a new British formation with the words: 'My name is Richard Nelson Gale. I have been a soldier for 28 years, and I am a master of my profession' — without provoking the slightest smile of ridicule, then or later.) The brigade's first operation came in February 1942, when a company from 2nd Parachute Bn. carried out a successful raid on the radar station at Bruneval. Shortly after the Bruneval raid Brig. Gale was appointed Deputy Director of Staff Duties for Air at the War Office, a post in which he was able to oversee the growth of the fledgling Airborne Forces.

In May 1943 Gale was pro-



moted major-general and appointed to raise and command the 6th Airborne Division, a formation soon to be earmarked for the invasion of Normandy. Two significant considerations recorded by Gale in the planning for the Normandy landing are his preference for landing as close to the objective as possible, and his realisation that his division must train to remain in the line for a considerable time once committed to battle. The first certainly ensured success in the seizing of vital points in the opening moments of the battle before dawn on 6 June 1944; and the second proved a realistic appreciation — 6th Airborne Division were not relieved in France until September 1944. They had greatly distinguished themselves in three months' hard fighting.

By the time Gen. Gale's division was reforming in the United Kingdom, Operation 'Market Garden' was already foundering at Arnhem. In the wake of this failure to end the war in 1944, Gale was appointed in December to succeed Lt. Gen. Browning as GOC 1st Airborne Corps, and Deputy Commander of the Allied Airborne Army. This Army contributed three divisions — the US 82nd and 101st, and the British 6th — to the containing battle in the Ardennes campaign, before preparing for the airborne operation that would accompany the crossing of the Rhine in March 1945 — Operation 'Varsity'. Nominated for this operation was the US 18th Airborne Corps,

with the US 17th Airborne Division and the British 6th under command. Lt. Gen. Gale was deputy to the US Gen. Matthew Ridgway for the crossing, which was achieved as planned. With the bridgehead established the Corps drove onwards into Germany, advancing 300 miles in 34 days — a fitting climax to airborne warfare in Europe.

Gen. Gale was now sent out to India to command a Corps including his old 6th Airborne Division. The A-bombs prevented the Corps seeing action (drops on Singapore and Bangkok were planned for them); and Gale returned to England in November 1945.

Richard Gale's post-war service was to see him through a temporary retirement and would last until 1960. In that time he held a number of senior staff appointments and field commands including the 1st Infantry Division in the Middle East in 1946–47; British Troops Egypt in 1948; the British Army of the Rhine from 1952 to 1956; and appointment as Deputy Supreme Allied Commander in Europe from 1958 until his final retirement in 1960.

Promotion to full general's rank, and numerous honours, attended Sir Richard Gale's post-war career. His death two years ago marked the 'fading away' of an old soldier whose career had spanned the two greatest wars in history. He was undoubtedly a planner, a trainer, and a battlefield leader of the first rank.

Left:

General Sir Richard Gale, aged 78, photographed during the 1974 Normandy Pilgrimage. He is talking to the Belgian Gen. Piron (second from right), who commanded the Free Belgian 1st Brigade in the UK and in NW Europe, and later rose to command the Belgian Army. Sir Richard still proudly wears his red beret; note also rank badges of a full general, and 'EIR' badge below them, indicating an Aide-de-Camp to HM Queen Elizabeth II. (Courtesy Airborne Forces Museum)

The reconstructions on p. 52

show: (top left) Lt. Richard Gale, 'B' Company, 42nd Battalion, Machine Gun Corps; Western Front, September 1918. The 22-year-old Gale is illustrated dressed typically for an officer of his Corps at that time. Note the cover of his steel helmet bearing the MGC badge, and the green-on-pale-blue battle insignia of his company. His Service Dress bears badges of rank on the shoulder straps, MGC collar badges, and repeated 'battle patches' on the sleeves. The 42nd Div. used a consistent scheme of battle patches, all based on variously-coloured cloth diamonds, and these are recorded in the divisional history. 'Trench' boots and 1914-pattern personal equipment complete the outfit, together with a box respirator. The ribbon is that of the Military Cross. In his autobiography Gale records the usefulness of the heavy stick for (among other things) killing the rats which abounded in the trenches.

(Bottom right) Lt. Gen. Richard Gale, Deputy Commander, 18th (US) Airborne Corps; Germany, March 1945. By now nearly 50 years of age, Gale is shown in battledress of the 'first pattern', with the red beret of Airborne Forces and the cap badge of a general officer. (Gale was party to the deliberations when Gen. Browning chose this headgear for Airborne Forces.) Insignia displayed include lieutenant-general's badges of rank on the shoulder straps and gorget patches on the collar; and the 18 Corps patch on the left shoulder. Note the glider brevet on his right forearm: Gen. Gale landed in Normandy by glider. Although he undertook several parachute jumps in training, including water jumps, he never completed the full course, nor subsequently wore parachute qualification wings. His medal ribbons include those of the Distinguished Service Order, Military Cross, campaign medals of the Great War, and Officer, US Legion of Merit.

Richard Gale deserves to be remembered as a founding father of British Airborne Forces, and as an Airborne leader whose efforts were always crowned by success.

MI

Sir Richard Gale



Lieutenant, 1918



Lieutenant-General, 1945